

UN FRAGMENT DE RITUEL D'INITIATION  
AUX MYSTÈRES

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LE TOME X du recueil des "Papiri della Società italiana," où ont déjà paru tant de morceaux précieux, contient sous le n° 1162 le texte mutilé d'un serment que son éditeur, M. V. Bartoletti, a jugé "plutôt juif que chrétien." Evidemment ce caractère lui a paru résulter des premières lignes, restituées par lui avec une grande vraisemblance et où il s'agit d'un dieu créateur. Mais les formules employées n'ont qu'une analogie très vague avec les premiers versets de la Genèse. Elles s'en rapprochent beaucoup moins que la teneur de certaine cosmogonie hermétique, où l'influence juive se décèle immédiatement.<sup>1</sup> Comme j'avais suggéré à M. Vitelli, sous toutes réserves, la possibilité d'une autre interprétation, ce maître incontesté de la papyrologie m'a courtoisement invité dans les additions au tome X<sup>2</sup> à exposer moi-même cette explication nouvelle. Je cède donc à son exhortation, malgré certains doutes qui, on le verra, subsistent dans mon esprit, car, si je comprends bien ce texte tronqué, il prendra une valeur singulière et méritera qu'on s'attache à l'étudier.

Ce document renferme un mot qui à lui seul, si je ne m'abuse, prouve qu'il ne s'agit pas ici d'un serment juif ou chrétien, mais bien païen. C'est, à la ligne 8, *ιεροκήρυκα*. Car ce titre ne se trouve ni dans l'Eglise, ni dans les synagogues, mais il est habituel dans les mystères. Le hierocéryx était à Eleusis un personnage considérable du corps sacerdotal, inférieur seulement au hiérophante et au dadouque. Il assistait à toutes les initiations et ne se bornait pas, rôle qui lui est généralement attribué, à imposer aux mystes un silence religieux.<sup>3</sup> Il devait

<sup>1</sup> Poimandres III, cf. Joseph Kroll, *Die Lehren des Hermes Trism.*, 1914, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società ital., X), 1932, p. 102 s. et add., p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Foucart, *Les mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914, p. 202 s.

prononcer les formules secrètes que l'ordinand reprenait après lui. On voit dans les cités le hierocéryx intervenir avec les prêtres dans la prestation du serment imposé aux fonctionnaires.<sup>4</sup> Sans doute faisait-il de même dans les communautés religieuses: il récitait le serment que le myste répétait exactement. L'importance de ces fonctions sacrées fait que le héraut sacré est souvent nommé dans les inscriptions des cultes mystiques, comme celui d'Andanie,<sup>5</sup> celui de Mithra<sup>6</sup> et d'autres encore.<sup>7</sup>

Qu'il s'agisse dans notre papyrus fort maltraité de mystères païens me paraît résulter aussi à l'évidence des mots *μυστή[ρια]* (l. 6) et *[μ]ύστη* (l. 18). Mais surtout, dès que l'on interprète le texte comme un fragment d'un rituel d'initiation, on voit s'éclaircir le sens de certaines expressions restées obscures. C'est ce que montrera l'essai de restitution que nous tentons en nous servant dans une large mesure des suppléments proposés par M. Bartoletti. Nous y ajoutons quelques notes pour justifier nos compléments et préciser la portée du document, tel que nous l'entendons:

Πρὸς θεοῦ τοῦ διαχωρίσ]αντος γῆν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ  
καὶ φῶς ἀπὸ σκότους κ]αὶ ἡμέραν ἐγ νυκτός  
καὶ κόσμον ἀπὸ συγχύς[?]εως καὶ ζῶην ἀπὸ θά-  
νάτου καὶ γένεσιν ἀπὸ] φθορᾶς ἐπομνυμαι  
5 ἥ μὴν ἐκ πίστεως ἀτρεκ]οῦς συντηρήσειν  
ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τὰ παραδ]εδομένα μοι μυστή-  
ρια διὰ τὸν εὐσεβέστατον] πατέρα Σαραπίωνα  
τε καὶ τὸν αἰδεσιμώτα]τον ἱεροκῆρυκα Κα-  
....., οἷς τοῦτο ὑ]πάρχει, καὶ τοὺς συν-  
10 μύστας τε καὶ φιλτάτο]υς ἀδελφούς· εὐορκού-

<sup>4</sup> Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 577 l. 43 (Milet): 'Ορκισάτωσαν οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ ἱεροκῆρυξ. Cf. *ibid.* 633 l. 105: 'Ορκισάτωσαν μετὰ τοῦ ἱεροκῆρυκος.

<sup>5</sup> I.G. V 1, 1390 = Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 736 l. 115: 'Εν τοῖς μυστηρίοις συνλειτουργοῦντω τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ὁ κἄρυξ.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 157, n. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Realenc. s.v. κῆρυξ, où il est question p. 351 s. du ἱεροκῆρυξ et du κῆρυξ τῶν μυστηρίων. [Cf. Sardis VII i, Inscriptions, ed. Buckler et Robinson, p. 16, n° 8, 12 s.: Κατευχᾶς ποιέσθαι διὰ τῶν ἱεροκηρύκων et Amer. Jour. Arch., 2nd ser., XVIII, 1914, p. 344. — A.D.N.]

ντι μέν μοι εὔ εἴη, ἐπιωρ] κοῦντ[ι δὲ τ]ὰ ἐναν-  
τία, ἐάν τι τούτων ἐκλαλ] ἦσω.

]ον π[.....]ι ὁμοι

] καυτοπαυ

15 κέντ]ροις ὀξέσιν

χαραχθήσονται ἐς χεῖρας δύο]σφραγεῖδες,

ὥστε εἰς αἰῶνα τὸν μύστην] σημειῶσαι

τῷ μ]ύστη ὁ πα-

τήρ τοὺς ἱεροὺς λόγου]s ἐρ[ε]ῖ

20 ]

]μ' ἀστέρων

]λε διαστητε

]ν ἡμειβεν ον-

]ητε καὶ ἐνον

25 ]τρομα τηρ

]ηκωσιν

]ητων.ν

] . σο[

] . [

# TRADUCTION

[Au nom du dieu qui a sé]paré la terre du ciel,

[la lumière des ténèbres,] le jour de la nuit,

[le monde du chaos], la vie de la mort,

[et la génération] de la corruption, je jure

5 [certes en sincère bonne foi] de conserver

[parmi les secrets] les mystères qui m'auront été transmis

[par le très pieux] Père Sarapion

[et le révérendissime] Héraut Sacré Ka . . .

[à qui ceci] incombe, et par mes co-

10 [initiés et très chers] Frères. Fidèle à mon serment,

[que je m'en trouve bien, mais] parjure le con-

[traire, si je révèle rien de tout ceci.]

. . . . .

Kautau-

15 [patès? . . . à l'aide d'aiguilles] acérées

[on gravera sur ses mains deux] sceaux



[de façon à] marquer [le myste à jamais  
 . . . ensuite] au myste le Père  
 dira [les discours sacrés . . .

20

] des astres

Ll. 1-5. Cf. Papyr. Paris., Preisendanz, Papyri graecae magicae, IV 1705: 'Ορκίζω γῆν καὶ οὐρανόν, φῶς καὶ σκότος καὶ τὸν πάντα κτίσαντα θεὸν μέγαν. Berthelot, Alchimistes grecs, III p. 29: L'ange Annaël descend vers Isis et commence la révélation des mystères: 'Ορκίζω σε εἰς οὐρανόν καὶ γῆν, φῶς καὶ σκότος· ὀρκίζω σε εἰς πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν κ.τ.λ. Poimandres, I 9 et 12: Νοῦς φῶς καὶ ζωὴ ὑπάρχων. Ibid. 11: Διακεχώρισται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡ τε γῆ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ.

L. 5. Συντηρήσειν. Cf. Dittenberger, Sylloge<sup>3</sup> 820 (Ephèse): Μυστήρια . . . ὑπὸ μυστῶν ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐτῶν συντετερημένα. Hippolyte, Adv. haeres., V 27, 2 (p. 133, 2 Wendl.): 'Ομνύω . . . τηρῆσαι τὰ μυστήρια ταῦτα καὶ μὴ ἐξειπεῖν μηδενί. Papyrus Leid. dans Preisendanz II p. 63: Γνωσιν ἦν καὶ τηρήσω ἀγνῶς μηδενὶ μεταδιδούς, εἰ μὴ τοῖς σοῖς συνμύσταῖς εἰς τὰς ἱερὰς τελετάς. Cf. *infra* à la l. 6.

L. 6. Diodore Sic. V 49, 5: Τὰ τῆς τελετῆς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τηρούμενα μόνοις παραδίδονται τοῖς μνηθεῖσι. III 55, 9: 'Εν ἀπορρήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τελετὴν παραδίδοσθαι. Cf. Platon, Phédon 62 b: 'Ο ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος λόγος (de la doctrine ésotérique des Pythagoriciens); cf. Theaetet. 152 c. Aristote, fr. 612: Λόγους φυλάττειν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις. Vettius Valens, VII Prooem., p. 263, 21 Kroll: Οὗς ὀρκίζω . . . ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ταῦτα ἔχειν.

L. 6. Μεταδίδωμι, qu'a adopté M. Bartoletti, est un terme habituel pour "transmettre" la connaissance des mystères; cf. Papyrus Leid. *supra*; Papyr. Paris., Preisendanz, IV 483, 852. Vettius Valens, p. 263, 22: Τοῖς ἀμνήτοις μὴ μεταδιδόναι; pp. 293, 28; 294, 2 Kroll; Coeranides, Prooem. (Ruelle, Lapidaires grecs, II p. 3): 'Ανθρώποις μετέδωκεν νοητοῖς. Hippolyte, Adv. haeres., I 1, 3 (p. 2, 15 Wendl.): Τῷ τυχόντι μεταδοῦναι. Mais ce verbe paraît s'employer surtout pour la communication des ἀπόρρητα à des non-initiés. La transmission des connaissances secrètes dans l'initiation s'exprime plutôt par παραδίδωμι: Hip-



polyte, Adv. haeres., I 1, 2 (p. 2, 10 Wendl.): Μυστήρια ἃ τοῖς μνουμένοις . . . παραδιδάσιν. Cf. Diodore, ll. cc. (l. 6). Papyr. Paris., l.c., 475: Τὰ παραδοτὰ μυστήρια. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des Grecs, 1932, p. 121 n. 4. — Le terme liturgique latin est *tradere* et à la παράδοσις, *traditio*, répond une παράληψις, *acceptio*; cf. Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie<sup>3</sup>, p. 53.

L. 7. Pour le titre de πατήρ cf. *infra*, pp. 158–159. L'épithète de εὐσεβής est donnée à un Père mithriaque dans une inscr. d'Histria (Pârvan, Dacia, I p. 319; cf. Picard, Revue de phil., LIII, 1927, p. 325). Pareillement le Miles de Mithra est εὐσεβής, *pious*: cf. nos Inscr. du Pont (Studia Pontica III), n° 108 (Amasia) et C.I.L. XIII 7570 d, 7571. La même épithète est donnée aux mystes à Samothrace, I.G. Rom. I 848, 849, 851, 852. Dans les mystères de Mithra, c'était le Père qui *tradebat* les divers degrés d'initiation (C.I.L. VI 749–754 etc.) et les consécrationes se faisaient souvent *per* un tel *patrem* (C.I.L. VI 735; Eph. Ep. IV 762; C.I.L. IX 4109 = Dessau 4190, cf. 4203 ss). Ce *per* traduit un διά grec.

Ll. 7–8. Les officiants sont désignés par un seul nom Σαραπίων et Κα . . . . . Fréquemment dans les confréries religieuses, les dignitaires, comme les simples membres, ne conservent ou ne reçoivent qu'un simple *cognomen*, sans qu'on indique la filiation, s'ils sont Grecs, ni le gentilice, s'ils sont Romains. Nous avons signalé ce fait à propos de la grande inscription bachique de Torrenova au Metropolitan Museum, American Journ. of Archaeology, 1933 [sous presse].

L. 8. Sur le rôle du hierocéryx dans les initiations et les prestations de serment, cf. *supra*, pp. 151–152.

L. 9. οἷς τοῦτο ὑπάρχει. C'est au Père et à ce Hierocéryx qu'il incombe, qu'il appartient d'initier les néophytes.

L. 9. Συνμύστας. Cf. Dittenberger, Orientis Inscr. I 541 = I.G. Rom. III 541: Οἱ τῆς θεοῦ μυστηρίων συνμύσται; Papyrus Leid. *supra* l. 5; Poland, Gesch. des Griech. Vereinswesens, 1909, pp. 33, 38, 301. Photius Bibl. 90 b, 20. [Ignace, Epître aux Ephésiens, XII 2 Παύλου συμμύσται A.D.N.] La traduction latine est *consecranei* ou *consacraneî*, C.I.L. III 2109; VII 1039 cf. Thes. l. Lat. s.v. — On pourrait cependant songer aussi à une restitution comme τοὺς συν[αὐτοῖς τελοῦντας φίλ]ους ἀδελφούς.

Ll. 9-10. Les accusatifs dépendent de *διά*. Tous les mystes participent avec le Père et le Hierocéryx à la cérémonie de l'initiation, et y jouent un rôle. Cf. p. ex. Dessau 4211, 4234.

L. 10. L'appellation de *ἀδελφοί*, *fratres*, que se donnent les *consacranei* est bien connue (cf. Religions Orientales<sup>4</sup> p. 269, note 111). Pour l'épithète de *φίλτατοι*, cf. *fratres carissimos* dans le culte de Jupiter Dolichénus (C.I.L. VI 406 = 30758).

L. 11. La formule finale est courante, mais on notera qu'elle se retrouve en particulier dans des serments mystiques analogues au nôtre. Cf. Vettius Valens, p. 263, 24; 294, 4.

L. 13. Le serment prêté, le myste, qui a juré de n'en rien révéler, doit accomplir certains actes liturgiques. L'indication de ces *δρώμενα* commençait ici dans le papyrus. Si l'on admet la restitution de *καυτοπαν* suggérée plus bas (p. 157), le premier devait être, ce semble, un acte d'adoration de Mithra et des dadophores, mais ceci reste très douteux. La restitution des lignes 15-17 ne prétend indiquer que le sens général de la phrase. Il est assuré par le mot *σφραγιῖδες*, terme consacré pour les tatouages sacrés des mystères; cf. Dölger, *Sphragis*, 1911, pp. 41 s.; 157 s. et *Relig. Orientales*<sup>4</sup> pp. 215 n. 13; 261 n. 68. — La marque indélébile était gravée sur la peau à l'aide d'aiguilles acérées, cf. Prudence *Peristeph.* X. vv. 1076-1077; "Quid cum sacratus accipit sphragitidas? Acus minutas ingerunt fornacibus," etc. Pour la restitution de la l. 15, cf. III Macchab. II 29: *Χαράσσεσθαι διὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ σῶμα παρασήμῳ Διονύσου κισσοφύλλῳ*; Plut. *Quom. adul. ab amico intern.* 12, p. 56 E: *Τυμπάνων ἐγχαράξεις*. On pourrait suppléer aussi *στιχθήσονται* ou *καταστιχθήσονται*. Cf. *Etym. magnum*, s.v. *Γάλλος*, etc.

Ἐς χεῖρας: cf. Lucien, *De dea Syria*, 59: *Στίζονται δὲ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐχένας*. Pour ces marques apposées sur les mains, cf. Perdrizet, *Archiv für Religionsw.* XIV, 1911, p. 109.

L. 17. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* XII 120, p. 84 Stähelin: *Ἱεροφαντεῖ ὁ κύριος καὶ τὸν μύστην σφραγίζεται φωταγωγῶν, καὶ παρατίθεται τῷ πατρὶ τὸν πεπιστευκότα αἰῶσι τηρούμενον. ταῦτα τῶν ἐμῶν μυστηρίων τὰ βακχεύματα*.

L. 18 ss. Suivait, semble-t-il, l'indication que le Père faisait connaître au myste les "Discours sacrés," c'est à dire la doc-



trine secrète des mystères. Les lignes suivantes peuvent avoir appartenu à ces *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*.

S'il est acquis désormais que le fragment de Florence nous fait connaître une portion de la liturgie de mystères païens, sera-t-il possible de déterminer lesquels? Un mot prouverait nettement que ce rituel est mithriaque, si l'on pouvait supposer une légère erreur du lecteur moderne ou du scribe antique. C'est l'énigmatique ΚΑΤΤΟΠΙΑΤ de la ligne 14. J'avais songé à la correction *καυτοπά[τη]*. Nous aurions alors ici le nom de *Cautopates*, qui est celui d'un des deux dadophores qui accompagnent régulièrement le dieu tauroctone.<sup>8</sup> Seulement, vérification faite M. Vitelli m'a certifié que la lecture *καυτοπαν* était indubitable. Toutefois, ce nom divin n'étant connu que par des inscriptions latines, son orthographe grecque reste assez douteuse et l'on ne peut exclure absolument l'existence d'une forme \**καυτοπαύτης*. D'autres indices d'ailleurs nous ramènent vers Mithra. Si les Pères (*πατέρες*, *patres*) apparaissent dans la titulature sacrée de plusieurs cultes,<sup>9</sup> il ne sont nulle part aussi nombreux que dans les mystères du dieu perse, où ils forment le septième grade de la hiérarchie religieuse,<sup>10</sup> et président aux initiations, comme nous le leur voyons faire ici.<sup>11</sup> Deux dédicaces du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère — notre papyrus ne peut être antérieur au III<sup>e</sup> selon les éditeurs — mentionnent chacune un *pater et hieroceryx invicti Mithrae*,<sup>12</sup> c'est à dire qu'un même personnage y cumule les deux fonctions que nous trouvons accolées dans notre texte (ll. 7-8). La pratique des tatouages se retrouve dans les "sacrements" de cette religion, tout au moins pour le grade de *miles*,<sup>13</sup> et le mot *ἀστέρων* (l. 21) conviendrait bien à un texte liturgique d'un culte sidéral. Enfin le dualisme accusé du début du serment, qui oppose chaque fois l'obscurité à la lumière, le mal au bien, atteste une origine ou tout au moins une influence persiques.

Mais d'autre part, les allusions à la création du monde et au

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Mon. Myst. de Mithra, I p. 207 n. 6, II p. 533.

<sup>9</sup> Poland, Vereinswesen, p. 371; Religions Orientales<sup>4</sup>, p. 200 n. 49.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Mon. Myst. de Mithra, I p. 317 s., II p. 535.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *supra*, note à la l. 7.

<sup>12</sup> C.I.L. VI 500 et 504 = Dessau 4148, 4153.

<sup>13</sup> Mon. Myst. de Mithra, I p. 319 n. 9.



dieu ordonnateur du κόσμος n'ont rien de spécifiquement mazéen; elles n'évoquent point, par exemple, le mythe du Taureau merveilleux, d'où la végétation et les êtres animés sont issus. L'on pourrait aussi objecter que les mystères de Mithra paraissent avoir été peu répandus en Egypte,<sup>14</sup> et que selon toute probabilité ce papyrus ne leur appartient pas plus que la fameuse "Mithrasliturgie," qui n'est pas une liturgie et n'est pas mithriaque. Contentons donc de l'assurance que le papyrus de Florence, pièce unique en son genre, nous a conservé quelques bribes d'un rituel d'initiation d'un des mystères païens, avec le serment prêté par l'ordinand. Son intérêt restera encore considérable. Car si de nombreux témoignages attestent que les mystes juraient de ne rien divulguer de ce qui leur était révélé dans le télésterion<sup>15</sup> nous ne possédions jusqu'ici la teneur d'aucun de ces serments liturgiques.<sup>16</sup> Nous ne pouvions nous en faire quelque idée que par les imitations qu'on en trouve chez les adeptes des sciences occultes, magiciens,<sup>17</sup> alchimistes,<sup>18</sup> astrologues.<sup>19</sup> On a depuis longtemps noté que souvent l'élève s'engage à ne révéler les secrets que son maître lui apprend, à personne sauf à son fils.<sup>20</sup> C'est un souvenir du temps où une caste sacerdotale se transmettait une science sacrée héréditairement de génération en génération.<sup>21</sup> Les mystères à cette pa-

<sup>14</sup> [Outre le mithréum de Memphis, Mon. myst. Mithra II p. 520 ss, on peut cependant citer deux représentations que l'on a attaché avec quelque vraisemblance au culte mithriaque: Figure d'un dieu cavalier nimbé et radié avec un serpent et un coq (Breccia, Theadelphia pl. LVII = Saxl, Mithras, 1931 pl. X n° 62), peinture dans la niche d'une maison à Karanis (A. E. R. Boak, Karanis, 1924, p. 33 et pl. XXIV, fig. 47). — A.D.N.]

<sup>15</sup> Voir surtout Hippolyte Adv. haeres., I 1, 2 p. 2 Wendland. — Sur le *sacramentum* mithriaque, cf. M.M.M. I p. 318 n. 5. En général, cf. Reitzenstein, Hellenist. Mysterienreligionen<sup>3</sup>, p. 196.

<sup>16</sup> Les *ὄρκοι* orphiques (Kern. Fragm. 299, 300) sont des productions littéraires, qui n'ont jamais appartenu à la pratique du culte. Le serment prêté par les prêtres d'Andanie (Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 736 ll. 2 ss. 27 ss.) n'est pas un serment mystique.

<sup>17</sup> Coeranides Prooem. (Ruelle, Lapidaires grecs, II p. 3). Cf. Hopfner, Offenbarungszauber II p. 75 s.

<sup>18</sup> Berthelot, Alchim. grecs, II p. 27, 29.

<sup>19</sup> Vettius Valens VII Prooem. (p. 263 Kroll); VII 5 (p. 293).

<sup>20</sup> Dieterich, Mithrasliturgie<sup>3</sup> p. 52 s. Cf. Hopfner, *l.c.*, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> Mages: Rapp, Zeitschr. D.M.G. XX p. 70 ss. Mon. myst. Mithra I p. 10 n. 3; 239 n. 4; Bardesane dans Patrol. syriaca, II 602. Cosmas Hieros. dans Cat. codd. astr. VIII, III, p. 120. — Chaldéens: Diodore II 29. Si les Egyptiens n'ont pas eu à proprement parler une caste sacerdotale, la prêtrise du moins y était souvent héréditaire. Cf. Otto Priester und Tempel im hell. Aegypten II p. 200 s.

renté par le sang ont substitué une parenté spirituelle et notre papyrus rend sensible cette évolution. Le Père initie le myste, qui est censé être son fils au milieu de ses Frères, co-initiés qui forment sa famille religieuse. Ainsi ce pauvre feuillet lacéré, qui ne porte plus que des lignes misérablement mutilées, témoigne encore d'une des grandes transformations des cultes antiques.

*Post Scriptum* — Cet article était déjà envoyé à la Harvard Theological Review, quand mon attention a été attirée sur une note que M. Wilcken a consacrée au papyrus de Florence dans l'Archiv für Papyrusforschung X, 1932. Il a reconnu que les "Pères" et les "Frères" nommés dans ce texte sont des parents spirituels, membres d'un même collège sacré, et que le titre de hierocéryx appartient nécessairement à des mystères païens. Je me réjouis de voir mon opinion confirmée sur ce point essentiel par la haute autorité de l'éminent papyrologue. Celui-ci pense que l. 5 au lieu de ἡ μὴν ἐκ πίστεως il faut suppléer le nom du myste qui prête serment et peut-être a-t-il raison. Toutefois si nous avons ici, comme je le crois, un formulaire applicable à plusieurs initiés, ce nom n'a dû être noté que par ὁ δεῖνα. Moins heureuse me paraît être la restitution des ll. 8-9, τὸν ἱεροκήρυκα Καβίρου ᾧ τὰ μυστήρια ὑ]πάρχει, d'après Ditt. Syll.<sup>3</sup> 736 (Andanie) ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν θεῶν οἷς τὰ μυστήρια γίνεται, car (M. Wilcken s'est fait lui-même cette objection) on attend ici le nom du hierocéryx, puisque l'on a plus haut celui du Père. De plus la présence de mystères des Cabires ou plutôt d'un Cabire en Egypte vers la fin du paganisme serait bien surprenante, car jamais on n'en a signalé la moindre trace dans ce pays, que nous sachions. Mais malgré ces divergences de détail, la signification attribuée au document par M. Wilcken est très proche de celle que nous lui avons reconnue dans cet article, auquel est ainsi apportée une précieuse corroboration.

Un article de M. Momigliano publié dans Aegyptus XIII, 131 ss. a paru trop tard pour que je pusse l'utiliser dans ces pages, déjà composées. L'auteur supplée l. 9: Κά[νωπον ᾧ τὸ ὀρκίζειν ὑ]πάρχει et, sauf le nom, très douteux, cette restitution est séduisante, puisque c'était le hierocéryx, nous le disions, qui

faisait prêter serment (p. 152 note 4). L'auteur croit que le thiasse auquel a appartenu ce rituel était un collège de Sarapiastes; l'influence juive qu'on croit reconnaître au début de la formule, s'expliquerait par le fait que Sarapis est identifié parfois avec Jahweh. Ceci me paraît, je l'avoue, très douteux.



# THE PREFERMENTS AND 'ADIUTORES' OF ROBERT GROSSETESTE

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IN MANY fields of activity Robert Grosseteste was an important figure in thirteenth-century England. Bishop of Lincoln for nearly two decades (1235-1253), he pursued a vigorous policy as statesman and churchman. He was already a distinguished teacher and chancellor of the University of Oxford. His voluminous writings<sup>1</sup> were more acceptable to his contemporaries than those of any other author. His scientific achievements were such that Professor Sarton has styled a volume of his monumental *History of Science, From Robert Grosseteste to Roger Bacon*. In death his memory was revered as that of a saint.

Such a career as that of Grosseteste has naturally been the subject of numerous biographies. The years of his episcopate and his knowledge of philosophy and theology have bulked large in these studies, since their sources are abundant and good.<sup>2</sup> In comparison the sources for the other phases of his life are meagre. Moreover, to the nucleus of accurate data conjectures have been added which have been repeated by bibliographers until they have an unjustified semblance of worth. An examination of the sources already known supplemented by the addition of new material makes possible some revisions in the biography of Grosseteste, especially in regard to his preferments and to his 'adiutores,' his helpers in the use of ancient language.<sup>3</sup>

The preferments and helpers of Grosseteste are, of course,

<sup>1</sup> A critical study of the very large number of books attributed to him is being prepared by S. Harrison Thomson.

<sup>2</sup> The best is probably F. S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, London, 1899. References to the others are in L. J. Paetow, *A Guide to the Study of Medieval History*, New York, 1931, p. 464. To these should be added Luard's accounts in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and in the introduction to his edition of the letters of Grosseteste in the *Rolls Series* (London, 1861).

<sup>3</sup> The expression is Roger Bacon's. *Opera Inedita*, ed. Brewer, p. 91.

interesting in themselves, and they are also interesting for the clues which they give to his intellectual life. For a scholar of his preëminence, curiously little is known of his education and professional career. His writings contain few autobiographical remarks, and his admirer, Roger Bacon, fails to give much information upon this subject. We are thus reduced to such hints as are given by a study of his preferments. They suggest that he may have studied at certain places. They enable us to examine the bibliographical tradition that Grosseteste held four archdeaconries, a very unusual holding which would have taken up most of his time if he had given his duties the attention which we should expect of a man of his conscience. As to his helpers, we may question Bacon's statement that Grosseteste mastered the languages, Hebrew and Greek, late in life. Bacon's reputation for accuracy is hardly sufficient to offset the inherent improbability that an aged prelate would have the time or energy to devote to such a task.

A recent sketch of Grosseteste's life until he became bishop gives the following outline (the points to which exception may be taken are italicized): <sup>4</sup>

Grosseteste was born about 1175 at *Stradbroke* in Suffolk. He studied at *Oxford*, and having become proficient in law, medicine, and the natural sciences, he *soon* acquired distinction as a teacher at the University. Shortly after 1208 he was appointed Master of the Oxford schools, the holder of which office was first termed 'Chancellor' in the Legatine Ordinance of 1214. Grosseteste then held *in succession the archdeaconries of Chester, Northampton, and Leicester* until 1232, when he decided to retain only his prebend at Lincoln. Between 1229 and 1235 he was the first reader in theology to the Franciscans. In 1235 he accepted the bishopric of Lincoln. . . .

He is also said to have been a member of the household of William de Vere, bishop of Hereford (1186-1199), a witness of a Lincoln charter of 1209, the *archdeacon of Wiltshire in 1214*, and holder of the church of Abbotsley.

The earliest reference to Robert Grosseteste is probably in the Lincoln charter of which he was a witness.<sup>5</sup> The date usu-

<sup>4</sup> D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*, Oxford, 1930, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> The original is probably lost but it is enrolled in a cartulary, British Museum, MS Reg. 11 B ix, fol. 25<sup>r</sup>. It has been published by Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V, p. 191.

ally assigned to it, 1209, is apparently based upon two conjectures, both probably wrong.<sup>6</sup> A comparison of it with other Lincoln charters shows that it must be of the time of Hugh I (1186–1200); probably it is to be placed before Roger de Rolveston became dean in 1195 and even before William de Monte was made chancellor a few years earlier; possibly it is even of the years 1186–1189.<sup>7</sup> In this list of witnesses the name, Master Robert Grossete, occupies the last place. He was probably a person then of no great importance, hardly a canon since his name follows those of the rural deans, but possibly the scribe of the charter.<sup>8</sup> Grosseteste was thus a master at least sixty years and possibly sixty-five years before his death, if we accept the charter transcript as trustworthy.<sup>9</sup> We have, however, Bacon's testimony that Grosseteste lived to a great age.<sup>10</sup> The date of his birth, if he was at Lincoln and a master by 1189 must be placed at least as far back as 1170 and possibly earlier. Stradbroke as his birthplace seems a very late conjecture.<sup>11</sup>

For a long time the letter of Gerald of Wales congratulating Bishop William de Vere of Hereford (1186–1199) upon taking Master Robert Grosseteste into his household and acquaint-

<sup>6</sup> (1) That the Bishop Hugh of the charter is Hugh II (1209–1235) and (2) that Grosseteste was archdeacon of Chester in 1210.

<sup>7</sup> There are fifteen names in the list including two abbots, a prior, and two (rural) deans, all with their titles: the absence of title is therefore of some significance. Since Simon of Sewell was treasurer of Lichfield by 1205, there would be no cause for listing him among canons of Lincoln in the time of Hugh II (1209–1235). See C. W. Foster, ed., *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln*, I, 254. Roger de Rolveston apparently became archdeacon of Leicester in 1189, succeeding Hamo, who became dean in that year. MS Cotton, Vesp. E xx, fol. 33<sup>v</sup> in the British Museum. Sometimes archdeacons' titles were omitted in Lincoln charters before 1200, so that the charter may be after 1189. Four of the witnesses appear together in the same order in a charter in which Hamo appears as archdeacon of Leicester: therefore before 1189. British Museum, MS Reg. 11 B ix, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> For evidence of the custom of placing the scribes' names last, see my 'The Significance of Charter Witness Lists in Thirteenth Century England,' *New Mexico Normal University Bulletin*, August, 1930, pp. 11 f.

<sup>9</sup> There is a possibility that 'Robert Grosseteste' is a copyist's error for some other R. Grosseteste, such as the Richard or Ralph mentioned below.

<sup>10</sup> 'Solus dominus Robertus propter longitudinem vite sue,' etc. *Compendium Studii Philosophie*, ed. Brewer, London, 1859, p. 472.

<sup>11</sup> H. R. Luard, ed. *Flores Historiarum* (Matthew of Westminster), London, 1890, I, p. xlvi.



ance has been well known.<sup>12</sup> His membership in this prelate's household is confirmed by the appearance of his name in several of the bishop's charters. In two instances his name is clearly among those of the bishop's clerks and chaplains and after the names of the canons of Hereford.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, it is not easy to fix an accurate date for these documents.<sup>14</sup> Gerald's letter tells us that Grosseteste was already proficient in law, medicine, and the liberal arts; natural science and theology are not mentioned.

Grosseteste then was at Lincoln between 1186 and 1200, probably in the earlier part of the period, and at Hereford before 1199. Tradition has it that he studied at Oxford. These clues are interesting because at this time there were celebrated teachers in all three places. At Lincoln, there was William de Monte who had taught at Paris and was a famous theologian.<sup>15</sup> Alexander Neckam at Oxford was a man of very wide interests and attainments, almost as versatile as Grosseteste himself.<sup>16</sup> At Hereford one Arabist, Roger Infans, and probably a second, the even more famous Alfredus Anglicus, lived.<sup>17</sup> Their interests in languages and natural science were quite like those with which Grosseteste inspired the Franciscan school at Oxford a generation later.<sup>18</sup> Of course these are only indications of possible influences which would have to be followed up by comparison of the writings of these scholars with the works of Grosseteste.

<sup>12</sup> Giraldi Cambrensis Opera, ed. Brewer, London, 1861, I, p. 249.

<sup>13</sup> Oxford, Balliol College, MS 271, fol. 56<sup>v</sup> and 88<sup>v</sup> as a clerk: fol. 6<sup>v</sup> and 79<sup>v</sup> status undesignated. His surname is given in the ablative, Grossicapite. He may be the Master Robert of a charter in MS Arundel 19, fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, a cartulary of Tintern Abbey, in the British Museum.

<sup>14</sup> A very systematic study of the diplomatics of the Hereford documents might make a more accurate date possible.

<sup>15</sup> He was highly regarded by both Alexander Neckam and Gerald of Wales. The latter thought it worth while to study under William at Lincoln after 1191: it is possible that he may have met Grosseteste there. The name, William of Leicester, sometimes applied to William de Monte, does not seem to be supported by any evidence.

<sup>16</sup> For Neckam, see Russell in *English Historical Review*, XLVII, 1932, pp. 260-268.

<sup>17</sup> For these men see Russell in *Isis*, XVIII, 1932, pp. 14-25.

<sup>18</sup> A. G. Little in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, XIX, 1926, pp. 807-810.

In one respect Grosseteste's scholarly achievements have probably been overestimated, as in the following statement.<sup>19</sup>

Grosseteste is, nevertheless, the first Englishman to assimilate the new learning of Aristotle and the Arabs. His commentaries on the Posterior Analytics, the Sophistic Elenchi, the Physics, and the Metaphysics (no longer extant) are the earliest originating in the Christian occident.

In this field, chronological signposts are unfortunately few, but enough exist to cause one to question these statements. The first two books mentioned above were the subject of commentaries by James of Venice at least half a century before Grosseteste.<sup>20</sup> Professor Haskins has shown that Englishmen had a large share in the introduction of this learning into the Latin west, and the above-mentioned Roger Infans and Alfredus Anglicus can probably be said to have assimilated the new learning of Aristotle and the Arabs!<sup>21</sup> If we believe a contemporary poet who was interested in such matters, no one had read the treatises of the Arabs earlier or oftener at Paris or Oxford than another Englishman, John Blund.<sup>22</sup> By 1210-1213 another poet was listening to a great master of this knowledge at Oxford, John of London.<sup>23</sup> The question is not an easy one.

The question of Grosseteste's alleged plurality of archdeaconries is apparently simpler than those of his education or of his place as interpreter of the new learning. He was certainly archdeacon of Leicester as is shown by the salutations of some of his letters. He acted in this capacity from 1229 to 1232.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Sharp, *Franciscan Philosophy at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1927, p. 227. Miss Sharp does not list this book in her bibliography and apparently does not cite it.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Chs. II, VI, possibly XIII, and XVIII.

<sup>22</sup> This account (in poem no. 127) is edited by Heironimus and Russell in their forthcoming *Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England* (Mediaeval Academy of America).

<sup>23</sup> L. J. Paetow, *Morale Scolarium of John of Garland*, Berkeley, 1927, p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> F. N. Davis, ed. *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, Lincoln, 1912-14, II, pp. 308-321. He succeeded a certain W. in the bishop's twentieth year (20 December 1228-19 December 1229) and was succeeded by another W. in the twenty-third year (1231-1232). As archdeacon he witnessed a charter in the twenty-second year: British Museum, MS Cotton, Domitian A. x, fol. 203v. This causes the date of his letter to the Franciscans, written as archdeacon of Leicester, to be postponed from ca. 1225. See Luard's edition in the *Rolls Series*, pp. 17 f.

When he resigned his livings in the autumn of 1232 because of illness, he stated in a letter that he was retaining a prebend in Lincoln cathedral, which seems to have been the church of St. Margaret of Leicester.<sup>25</sup> Of his other preferments but one is certain, the church of Abbotsley, to which he was presented by the bishop of Lincoln on 25 April, 1225.<sup>26</sup>

In the record of his presentation to Abbotsley and as a witness of a charter of Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford (1219–1234) his name appears without title.<sup>27</sup> Since the title, archdeacon, is normally given together with the name of the archdeaconry in the documents, the lack of such designation creates the presumption that the person did not hold the office. For want of positive evidence Wharton's suggestion that Grosseteste was archdeacon of Chester in 1210 and the unsupported statement that he was archdeacon of Northampton in the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* are not convincing.<sup>28</sup> For his holding of the archdeaconry of Wiltshire stronger evidence has been alleged.

Along with the archdeaconry of Wiltshire he is said to have held the rectory of Calne: both in the diocese of Salisbury. At Calne, according to the story, he was followed by St. Edmund Rich. Such a succession of great men makes a pleasant tale which one is naturally sorry to destroy. The only basis for it is that, in an account of a difficulty over tithes at Berwick

<sup>25</sup> Luard, ed. *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi . . . Epistole*, 1861, Rolls Series, p. 43: 'Noveris quoque quod omnes redditus quos habui, resignavi, preter prebendam quam habeo in ecclesia Lincolnensi.'

Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, Lincoln, II, p. 238: 'Ecclesie sancte Margarete extra muros patronus dominus Lincolnensis et est prebenda Lincolnensis.'

Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 391: 'Magister R. Grosseteste quondam rector ejusdem ecclesie (S. Margarete).'

<sup>26</sup> Rotuli Hugonis de Welles, III, p. 48.

<sup>27</sup> W. A. Leighton, 'Extracts from the Cartulary of Haghmon Abbey, co. Salop,' *Transactions of the Shropshire Archeological and Natural History Society*, New Series, I, 1878, p. 182. The editor gives Dan R. G.; Dan presumably stands for 'dominus.' In the presentation R. G. is given as deacon, which cannot be a mistake for archdeacon since for the latter the whole title is included. The title, if any, seems to be preferred to the holy orders. See op. cit., III, pp. 15, 16, 24, 100.

<sup>28</sup> Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 457; his statement that Grosseteste was made bishop of Lincoln about 1250 is sufficient indication of his haziness about the bishop's life. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Oxford, 1844, II, p. 55.



Basset of about 1220, the archdeacon of Wiltshire is twice given the name, Robert Grosseteste, which is clearly a mistake for Richard.<sup>29</sup> Even in that document the name appears five times as Richard, while all the references in the Salisbury cartulary call the archdeacon R. or Richard.<sup>30</sup> This Richard may have been a relative of Robert, but the only evidence seems to be the similarity of an unusual name — Grosseteste.<sup>31</sup>

Grosseteste, it seems, held no important ecclesiastical position until 1229. Probably he was the first chancellor of Oxford (by 1221);<sup>32</sup> the bishop of Lincoln may only have acknowledged him as Master of the Schools.<sup>33</sup> How much earlier he was chancellor or teacher at Oxford is unknown: 1208 and 1214 are apparently conjectures.<sup>34</sup> Upon becoming archdeacon in 1229 Grosseteste seems to have performed his duties in person.<sup>35</sup> Probably, then, he did not become lecturer to the Franciscans until he resigned his preferments in 1232.

"Grosseteste did not know Greek and Hebrew well enough to translate by himself," said Roger Bacon, "but he had many helpers."<sup>36</sup> If the helpers can be identified the time in his life

<sup>29</sup> W. H. R. Jones and W. D. Macray, *Charters and Documents, etc. of Salisbury*, London, 1891, Rolls Series, pp. 111-113.

<sup>30</sup> W. H. R. Jones, *The Register of S. Osmund*, London, 1884, Rolls Series, I, p. 380; II, pp. 16, 130, 133.

<sup>31</sup> Richard's name appears as a witness of a charter of Bishop Herbert Poore of Salisbury of about 1198. Brit. Mus. MS Cotton, Claudius C. ix, fol. 182<sup>r</sup>, 184<sup>r</sup>. There may have been a contemporary Ralph Grosseteste. He appears in two documents as a papal delegate appointed by Pope Innocent III in a dispute involving the priory of Worcester. Worcester Cathedral, Muniments B 406 (as Master Ralph Grosseteste), and in MS A, iv (Reg. I) of the same cathedral (as Master R. Grosseteste).

<sup>32</sup> H. E. Salter, *Mediaeval Archives of the University of Oxford*, Oxford, 1920, I, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> H. E. Salter, *Snape's Formulary and Other Records*, Oxford, 1924, p. 52. But not out of ill will apparently, since the bishop was patron of all the preferments which Grosseteste is known to have held.

<sup>34</sup> That he was a professor of theology at Oxford seems clear from evidence preserved by Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 347.

<sup>35</sup> *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles*, II, pp. 208, 321. In the time of Grosseteste an 'official' of the archdeacon of Leicester is mentioned only once (p. 312), and that citation does not make it clear whether the official was Robert's or an earlier archdeacon's. The rolls state when officials did the work.

<sup>36</sup> *Opera Inedita*, ed. Brewer, pp. 91, 472: 'Grecum et hebreum non scivit sufficienter, ut per se transferret, sed habuit multos adiutores.' An interesting illustration of the

in which he was most interested in translation may be determined or at least conjectured. Some persons have already been called his helpers: Adam Marsh, Thomas of Wales, Nicholas of St. Albans, and John of Basingstoke.<sup>37</sup> There is no direct evidence that the first two were of as much assistance to him as the other two. Some additional facts may be added about Nicholas and John, and two other men may be conjectured to have also been 'adiutores.' The special interest of the other two, William of Arundel and William de Mara, is that they were acquainted with Hebrew.

John of Basingstoke turns up as a witness of a charter of Isabelle de Lucy (between 1216 and 1228), an item which seems to have no connection with the rest of his known career.<sup>38</sup> His academic life has long been known through Matthew Paris' enthusiastic description.<sup>39</sup> Like many other young Englishmen he had gone to Paris to study, but unlike most of them he proceeded to Athens. There he is alleged to have had as instructor a youthful prodigy not yet twenty but already a scholar and a seer, Constantia by name. There also, he had heard of a famous book, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. Upon returning to England he had recommended the book to Grosseteste who had sent for it. Basingstoke appeared as archdeacon of Leicester on 1 April 1235, that is, so shortly after Grosseteste's election as bishop that it is a question whether

way in which Grosseteste acquired books of the Greeks remains in a note on MS 7 of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 'Memoriale Magistri Roberti Grosseteste pro exameron basilii.' As M. R. James explains in the library catalogue, "The hand in which this is written is, I believe, Grosseteste's own. The meaning is that the monks (of Bury St. Edmunds) gave him a copy of Basil's Hexameron + a rare book which they had, and got this in exchange."

<sup>37</sup> L. Baur, *Die Philosophie des Robert Grosseteste*, Münster, 1917, p. 42.

Upon the translation of the Ethics by Grosseteste, Professor Powicke has a noteworthy article in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVI, 1930.

<sup>38</sup> British Museum, MS Egerton 2104a, fol. 80<sup>r</sup>. The date is furnished by the name of another witness, Philip de Falkenberg, archdeacon of Huntingdon. Le Neve (II, p. 49) indicates that another person was archdeacon in 1216, while Philip died in November or December, 1228; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1227-31, p. 122, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 231. The other witnesses are Robert de Lucy, Mr. Geoffrey de Lucy, Mr. Richard de 'Herclawe,' Richard Makerel and Nicholas de Seleburne, chaplain. Basingstoke was already a master.

<sup>39</sup> *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, V, pp. 284-287.

he was appointed by the previous bishop.<sup>40</sup> In one of his letters Grosseteste speaks of the archdeacon in terms which seem to imply intimacy,<sup>41</sup> and with another archdeacon, William of Arundel, he represented the bishop in a dispute in 1241.<sup>42</sup> He died in 1252, a year before Grosseteste.<sup>43</sup>

In the translation of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs Bishop Grosseteste had the assistance of Nicholas Grecus, by birth and education a Greek.<sup>44</sup> He was given as a benefice the church of Datchet by the monastery of St. Albans in 1239 or 1240, which he held until his death in 1279.<sup>45</sup> We should like to suggest that he was a son of the Master Aristotle who appears in England about the end of the twelfth century, but our only evidence is a charter which has as two of its witnesses Master Aristotle and his son, Nicholas.<sup>46</sup>

By 6 April 1236, already a master, he appears on the episcopal rolls of Lincoln as one of the bishop's clerks.<sup>47</sup> He was promoted to be a canon of Lincoln by 14 September 1246 and was still serving in 1278.<sup>48</sup> His collaboration in translation probably placed him on terms of intimacy with the bishop so that it is not surprising that he was sent to Rome to assist in securing the canonization of Grosseteste during the papacy of Alexander IV (1254-1261).<sup>49</sup> Another Greek, Master Robert, appears in

<sup>40</sup> Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 391.

<sup>41</sup> Luard, ed. Roberti Grosseteste . . . Epistole, London, 1861, Rolls Series, p. 65.

<sup>42</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, IV, p. 152.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, V, pp. 284-287.

<sup>44</sup> British Museum, MS Reg. 4 D vii, fol. 246<sup>v</sup>; 'assistente eidem clerico Nicholao ab ecclesia beati Albani beneficiato nacione et educatione greco,' written by Matthew Paris.

<sup>45</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV, p. 233. The presentation is recorded in the Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 354. His death is noted in the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani*, Rolls Series, I, p. 440. He is to be distinguished from a contemporary Master Nicholas of St. Albans: see Matthew Paris, *op. cit.* V, p. 261; Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 68, 212, 297; and British Museum, MS Cotton, Julius D iii, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> British Museum, MS Cotton, Claudius D xi, fol. 223<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 395.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92. He appears as canon on pp. 93, 104, 112, 113, 118, 237, 332, 336, 428, 435. For 1278, see Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, Cambridge, 1897, II, p. cviii.

<sup>49</sup> R. E. G. Cole, 'Proceedings relative to the canonization of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln,' *Associated Architectural Society Reports*, XXXIII, 1915-16, p. 6.



the records, but as yet there seems no evidence to associate him with either Nicholas Grecus or Grosseteste.<sup>50</sup>

Only occasionally does such an administrative order as a royal mandate to a sheriff give a clue to literary history. A clue is evident in a letter close of 28 June 1240 by which the king ordered the sheriff of Huntingdon to allow the archdeacon of Huntingdon to have a Jew with him to help in the translation of a certain tract for the conversion of the Jews.<sup>51</sup> An archdeacon in the diocese of Lincoln in 1240 interested in Hebrew might well be among the 'adiutores' who helped the bishop 'extract much from the glosses of the Hebrews.'<sup>52</sup> A letter of Adam Marsh states that a certain 'interpretatio Biblie' corrected by this archdeacon, William of Arundel, about which John of Basingstoke had asked had not been given to the friars minor of Oxford.<sup>53</sup> 'Interpretatio Biblie' usually designated a glossary giving the meaning of Hebrew words in the Bible. One other notice arouses our interest. Among the events of March and April 1246 Matthew Paris records the following obituary:<sup>54</sup>

Et circa idem tempus mag. Robertus de Harundel, qui in Hebreo idiomate fuerat peritissimus et multa de Hebreo in Latinum fideliter transtulerat humanis rebus exemptus, mundum salutavit.

The coincidence of the name, Arundel, with interest in Hebrew suggests the possibility of identity which assumes that 'Robert' is a mistake for William. If William died in the spring of 1246, the two were probably identical.

Of the career of the archdeacon of Huntingdon, the documents give but few facts. In the episcopal rolls his name appears first in the fifth year of Grosseteste (1239-40), but since his predecessor's activity can be traced in only the first three years he may have become archdeacon a year or two earlier.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, p. 300: he also appears as a witness in two charters of Northampton; British Museum, MS Cotton, Tiberius E v, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Top. Northants, C 5, p. 286.

<sup>51</sup> Calendar of Close Rolls, 1237-1242, p. 238.

<sup>52</sup> A paraphrase from the chronicle of Nicholas Trivet, ed. Hog, London, 1845, p. 242: 'multa de glossis Hebreorum extraxit.'

<sup>53</sup> Monumenta Franciscana, London, 1858, Rolls Series, I, p. 204.

<sup>54</sup> Chronica Majora, IV, p. 553.

<sup>55</sup> Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste, pp. 250-256, 389, 391. His predecessor's name was

From the fifth to the twelfth year there are occasional references to him, but in the last year his successor, Roger of Raveningham is mentioned twice.<sup>56</sup> Since Grosseteste dated his episcopal year from sometime within the first twenty-six days of February, probably from the death of his predecessor, following the custom of English royalty, the twelfth year of his episcopate included the period, February 1246 to February 1247.<sup>57</sup> Since the death of 'Robert of Arundel' fell within this same period the identity of the two seems probable.

William de Mara, an English Franciscan who possessed an exceptional knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, is the other scholar who may have been one of the bishop's 'adiutores' in languages. An English Franciscan skilled in those languages was almost certainly educated in the Oxford school of the order which was in close touch with Grosseteste.<sup>58</sup> Although de Mara's career reached its zenith nearly thirty years after Grosseteste's death, a series of sermons still extant shows that he preached at Lincoln in the decade, 1260-1270. His career, thus pushed back toward the time of Grosseteste, may be brought within the bishop's time if we may identify him with the deacon of the same name presented to a living in the diocese of Lincoln in 1250 or 1251, or with the official of the same name who presented the deacon.<sup>59</sup> One or the other of these men or perhaps a third held several livings from 1259 to 1274 in the same diocese.<sup>60</sup> The Franciscan had a magnificent career at

Gilbert. In 1236 a Master W. de Arundel was canon of Exeter; British Museum, Add. Charter 13970. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, I, p. 409, indicates a William of Arundel as precentor of Exeter in 1242.

<sup>56</sup> *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, p. 269, V year; pp. 272, 273, VI year; p. 277, VII year; p. 289, XI year; p. 290, XII year. Roger on pp. 290, 291.

<sup>57</sup> A charter dated on the kalends of February, 1249 is given as of the fourteenth episcopal year, while another of 27 February, 1249 and a third of 7 March, 1249 are of the fifteenth year; *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, pp. 112, and 118. A charter of the second year is dated 1236 in the margin (p. 394), which is less reliable than the other. Hugh of Welles died on the seventh or eighth of February; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III, p. 306; S. Pegge, *The Life of R. Grosseteste*, London, 1793, p. 35.

<sup>58</sup> For de Mara, see Lamare, *Guil. by E. Longpr s* in the *Dict. de th ologie catholique*, VIII, cols. 2467-2469, Paris, 1909.

<sup>59</sup> *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste*, p. 497 for the deacon, pp. 495, 499, 501 for the archdeacon of Oxford.

<sup>60</sup> *Rotuli Ricardi de Gravesend*, p. 236 (admission to Syrington rectory in 1259-

Paris, where he became a pillar of the order and chose to correct, what few have tried, the Bible and St. Thomas Aquinas. He clearly belonged to a younger generation than John of Basingstoke and William of Arundel, and was possibly even younger than Nicholas Grecus and Roger Bacon.

The traditional biography of Robert Grosseteste is altered somewhat by the evidence presented in this study. Born in Suffolk probably by 1170, he was a master at Lincoln possibly by 1189, and a well educated clerk of Bishop de Vere of Hereford by 1199. These suggest that his intellectual indebtedness to Lincoln and Hereford as well as to Oxford masters should be studied. The bibliographical tradition that Grosseteste held important preferments breaks down upon examination: his only important holding before he became bishop of Lincoln was the archdeaconry of Leicester from 1229 to 1232. Despite his episcopal duties from 1235 to 1253, he maintained his interest in Hebrew and Greek, if the number of 'adiutores' about him is significant. In this he probably had the help of John of Basingstoke and Nicholas Grecus in Greek and William of Arundel (and possibly William de Mara) in Hebrew. Thus, of his life of probably more than eighty years, only about twenty were devoted to his archdeaconry and bishopric. The academic and scholarly phases of his career are thus shown to be much longer and freer from other duties than the biographies have indicated, so that his literary output, vast as it was, becomes less miraculous.

60), p. 298 (admission to Herlington rectory in 1273); p. 199 (resignation of Eversholt to Robert de la Mare in 1274). He acknowledged in chancery in 1273 that he owed 40s to be levied in default of payment on his lands and chattels in Buckingham and Bedford (where the three churches were); Calendar of Close Rolls, 1272-79, p. 44.



# A DECADE OF RESEARCH IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, 1921-1930

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAB	Abhandlungen, Berlin Academy.
AAM	Abhandlungen, Munich Academy.
AB	Analecta Bollandiana.
AER	American Ecclesiastical Review.
AGWG	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AJPh	American Journal of Philology.
Ant	Antonianum.
Aph	Archives de philosophie.
BEHE	Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études.
BFTb	Beiträge zur Förderung der Theologie.
BHTh	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie.
Bibl	Biblica.
BLE	Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique.
BM	Benediktinische Monatschrift.
BNJ	Byzantinische und neugriechische Jahrbücher.

BrStHTh	Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie.
BSt	Biblische Studien.
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CC	Civiltà cattolica.
ChQ	Church Quarterly Review.
CHR	Catholic Historical Review.
CPT	Cambridge Patristic Texts.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
Did	Didaskaleion.
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung.
DT	Divus Thomas.
EHPR	Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse.
ÉO	Échos d'Orient.
EPh	Ἑκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος.
EHR	English Historical Review.
Ét	Études.
ExpT	Expository Times.
FLDG	Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte.
FP	Florilegium Patristicum.
FThSt	Freiburger theologische Studien.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GChrS	Griechische christliche Schriftsteller.
Gno	Gnomon.
Greg	Gregorianum.
HA	Handes Amsorga.
HAPhG	Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte.
HJG	Historisches Jahrbuch der Görresgesellschaft.
HThR	Harvard Theological Review.
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift.
IKZ	Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JL	Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft.
JR	Journal of Religion.
JS	Journal des Savants.
JThSt	Journal of Theological Studies.
LZB	Literarisches Zentralblatt.
MB	Musée Belge.
MBHTh	Münsterer Beiträge zur historischen Theologie.
Misc Agost	Miscellanea Agostiniana.
Misc August	Miscellanea Augustiniana.
Mnem	Mnemosyne.
MSG	Migne, Series Graeca.
MSL	Migne, Series Latina.
MStHTh	Münchener Studien zur historischen Theologie.
Mus	Muséon.
NADG	Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.
NGWG	Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NKZ	Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.

NRTh	Nouvelle revue de théologie.
NTSt	Nieuwe Theologisch Studiën.
NTT	Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift.
OChr	Oriens Christianus.
OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
Phil	Philologus.
PhJ	Philosophisches Jahrbuch.
PhW	Philologische Wochenschrift.
PO	Patrologia Orientalia.
PSt	Patristic Studies, Catholic University of America.
PThR	Princeton Theological Review.
RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique.
RAp	Revue apologétique.
RBd	Revue bénédictine.
RBibl	Revue biblique.
RBPh	Revue belge de philosophie et d'histoire.
RC	Revue critique.
REL	Revue des études et des lettres.
RFIC	Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica.
RH	Revue historique.
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.
RhM	Rheinisches Museum.
RHPR	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse.
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions.
ROChr	Revue de l'Orient chrétien.
RPh	Revue de philologie.
RQ	Römische Quartalschrift.
RQH	Revue des questions historiques.
RR	Ricerche religiose.
RSFR	Rivista di studi filosofici e religiosi.
RSH	Revue de synthèse historique.
RSPT	Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques.
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse.
RSRUS	Revue des sciences religieuses, University of Strasburg.
RTAM	Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale.
SAB	Sitzungsberichte, Berlin Academy.
SAM	Sitzungsberichte, Munich Academy.
SAW	Sitzungsberichte, Vienna Academy.
SC	Scuola cattolica.
Schol	Scholastik.
SJMS	Speculum: Journal of Mediaeval Studies.
SKGG	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten-gesellschaft.
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
SQ	Sammlung ausgewählter Quellenschriften zur Kirchen- und Dogmen-geschichte.
SSL	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense.
StC	Studia catholica.
StGKA	Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums.
StIFC	Studi italiani di filologia classica.



StMB	Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktinerorden.
TCr	Testi cristiani.
ThBl	Theologische Blätter.
ThGl	Theologie und Glaube.
ThLB	Theologisches Literaturblatt.
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThQ	Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR	Theologische Revue.
ThStKr	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen.
WSt	Wiener Studien.
ZAM	Zeitschrift für Ascese und Mystik.
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKTh	Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche.

## Places of Publication:

B.	Berlin	M.	Munich
C.	Cambridge, England	O.	Oxford
F.	Freiburg	N. Y.	New York
L.	Leipzig	P.	Paris
Lond.	London	W.	Washington

A star before a name or title indicates a publication that is mentioned in the text.

## INTRODUCTORY

IN THE present article, which continues the critical studies of the literature on Church History, published in this Review in 1921-1925, I cannot attempt to cover so wide a field as before, both because of my own advancing years and because, with the enormous yearly increase in the material, no single scholar is any longer in a position to treat it with adequate knowledge. I shall, therefore, limit myself to the field of patristic literature, the subject in which I won my spurs almost half a century ago and with which I have never ceased to occupy myself. Now that the literature of the countries formerly at war with Germany is again accessible to me, the survey can, as in old times, be international. In all these countries, especially in France and Belgium, the investigation of early Christian literature has in recent years had a powerful development, and Germany, under present economic conditions, in spite of unrelaxed industry, is in danger of falling into the rear.

Work in this field is greatly furthered by the existence of

excellent bibliographies, reviews, and comprehensive reports,<sup>1</sup> but since these are not everywhere at hand and are not systematically arranged, the present survey is not superfluous. The amount of material may be judged from a remark of the editor of the new edition of Rauschen's *Grundriss der Patrologie*, that he had noted 2300 titles published in recent years, mostly in 1925-1931, and had included 1800 of them in his bibliography.

For our purpose this material must be sifted. Much of it is ephemeral or worthless. Old problems are constantly threshed over, with no fresh results. A striking example is the question of priority as between Minucius Felix and Tertullian, a rather hopeless subject, as anyone who has touched it knows. Commemorations of great men, like the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Augustine in 1930, set literally hundreds of pens in motion; the mere titles of the publications would fill many pages, although many of them add little or nothing to knowledge. Again, some writers, especially in France and Italy, are disposed to publish partial results of their researches in periodicals, only to include them later in a monograph. On the other hand, some very brief notice buried in a periodical may be important, so that it is not easy to strike the right balance. I have, therefore, been liberal in including such items, the more so because I have been able actually to see only a part of the vast number, and because I have often limited myself to giving the title alone, which often indicates the contents of itself, without further discussion. In the case of more important works I have added in brackets references to reviews from the widest possible range of languages, for these reviews,

<sup>1</sup> Especially important are: the *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine*, prepared by *Bernard Capelle* and the members of his Order, which, beginning in 1921, was appended to the *Revue bénédictine* and since 1928 has been issued separately as *Supplément à la Revue bénédictine* (abbreviated here as RBd sup); the *Chronique d'histoire ancienne de l'Église*, by *E. Amann*, in the *Recherches de science religieuse*; also the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 221 (1929), 65-140 (*Josef Martin*, *Christliche lateinische Dichter, 1900-1927*); 226 (1930), 157-206 (*W. Wilbrand*, *Die altchristliche lateinische Literatur, 1921-1924*); 220 (1929), 131-263 and 230 (1931), 163-273 (*Franz Drexl*, *Zehn Jahre griechische Patristik, 1916-1925*).

I shall be much indebted to authors who send me articles on patristic subjects for further bibliographical work.

when by competent hands, often add something of positive value to the discussion.

I must, to my regret, refrain from including the often extensive and valuable articles in the great encyclopedias, especially the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* and *Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopædie für das klassische Altertum*. This general reference to them will have to suffice. Such articles, especially those by French scholars, are often veritable monographs.

Translations of texts into modern languages I have included only by way of exception. The recent noteworthy increase of these may be due to an increase of interest in the subject among educated persons, or, perhaps, to the lessened knowledge of ancient languages in the younger generation. Many English, French, and recently also Italian, editions accompany the text with a good translation. This is less common in German editions. Unfortunately, the ably conducted German *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* (see *IHThR* 1925, p. 313), after a first series of sixty-one volumes of translations, together with a general index (1931), has had to limit the second series (beginning in 1933) to eighteen volumes. It is to be hoped that at least the more important patristic writings not yet published in this Library can be included.

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1927, 88 f.]; *Inleiding tot de oud-christelijke letterkunde*. Amsterdam, Holkema en Warendorff, 1927. viii, 183 pp.

What I have just said about translations is true of general surveys of the history of early Christian literature; Handbooks and Outlines spring up like mushrooms. Moreover, the scholars of every country seem bent on making the fruits of their labors accessible to a wider circle of readers than that of specialists; but, of the books that appear, it must be said that for the most part they make no appreciable addition to our knowledge, and it would be better to remain for a season content with the present more than ample supply. The reviewer can hardly be expected to assess justly the relative merits of so many works, since he cannot read them through. But I am satisfied that the great German works of *Bardenhewer*,<sup>2</sup> *Schanz-Krüger*, and *Stählin*, and, last but not least, *Ueberweg's* well-known *Grundriss* in the new revision by *Geyer* are superior to anything produced by other nations. This certainly holds good with respect to their detailed treatment of source material. In elegance of form, indeed, the Latin races excel, and such works as those of *Labriolle*, *Moricca*, and *Puech* are of high scholarly value, since these authors are thoroughly familiar with the sources. *Puech's* work is especially to be praised because he includes the New Testament literature in his consideration. Among the Outlines, beside that of *Rauschen*, to which in its latest revision by *Altaner* the first place must certainly be assigned both for form and for contents, I would recommend *Bardy*, whose recent works have put him in the front rank of patristic scholars. Against the revolutionary attempts of *van den Bergh van Eysinga* to credit the two decades 130-150, with an extensive Christian literature at the expense of all preceding years, so that the first century is left with no literature to speak of, no warning is too strong. He himself anticipates that these radical views of the earliest Christian literature will presently establish themselves in France, but we may hope that his expectation will fail.

<sup>2</sup> *Bardenhewer's* work has come to an end with the fifth volume: *Die letzte Periode der altkirchlichen Literatur mit Einschluss des ältesten armenischen Schrifttums*, F., Herder, 1932. xi, 421 pp.

*Baumstark's* History of Syriac Literature deserves special notice. There had been no comprehensive work on the subject since Wright's in 1894, and with the marked progress of Syriac studies in recent decades such a work was needed, for the fruits of this activity were so scattered in various periodicals that a survey of the field had hitherto been impossible. Baumstark has produced a 'standard work.' Not only is his presentation of biographical and bibliographical data a model, but we are introduced to the nature of the writer's thought, and all this with a brevity which is in refreshing contrast to the prolixity of so many patrologies.

## II. GENERAL WORKS

### (a) Writings

\**Bardy, Gustave*, Christianisme et humanisme au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (RAp 36, 1923, 7-19, 82-89, 155-162). — \**Birt, Theodor*, Marginalien zu lateinischen Prosaikern (Phil 83, 1928, 164-182). [Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Cyprian, Arnobius, Ambrose.] — \**Cataudella, Q.*, Critica ed estetica nella letteratura greca cristiana. Turin, Bocca, 1928, 180 pp. [\**J. Geffcken*, GGA 193, 1931, 131, 135-139.] — *Coleman-Norton, P. R.*, The Biographical Form of the Vitae Sanctorum (JThSt 26, 1925, 256-262). — *Colson, F. H.*, Two Examples of Literary and Rhetorical Criticism in the Fathers: Dionysius of Alexandria and the Authorship of the Apocalypse; Tertullian on Luke 6 (JThSt 25, 1924, 364-377). — *Crum, W. C.*, Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri. O., Clarendon Press, 1921, xii, 149 pp. — *De Faye, Eugène*, Que vaut la documentation patristique (Jubilé Alfred Loisy). P., Rieder, 1927. 2, 192-203. [Such documentation is found to be of small value; see Eusebius in his accounts of gnosticism.] — *Deferrari, Roy J.*, Early Ecclesiastical Literature and its Relation to the Literature of Classical and Medieval Times (Philological Quarterly, 6, 1927, 102-110). — \**Dinneen, Sister Lucilla*, Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography (PSt 18). W., 1929. [*G. Bardy*, RAp 49, 1929, 351 ff.; *J. D.*, Month 154, 1929, 274 f.; *B. Capelle*, RTAM 2, 1930, 105 f.] — \**Franchi de' Cavalieri, Pius and Lietzmann, Johannes*, Specimina codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum. Editio iterata et aucta (Tabulae in usum scholarum 1). B., de Gruyter, 1929. xx pp., 60 plates. 4°. [*W. Bauer*, ThLZ 56, 1931, 175.] — \**Getzeny, Heinrich*, Stil und Form der ältesten Papstbriefe bis auf Leo den Grossen. Tübingen dissertation. Günzburg, Hug, 1922. vii, 102 pp. [*H. Koch*, ThLZ 48, 1923, 326 ff.] — \**Ghellinck, J. de; Backer, E. de; Poukens, J.; Lebacqz, G.*, Pour l'histoire du mot "Sacramentum." I. Les Anténicéens (SSL 3). Louvain, P., Champion, 1924, ix, 392 pp. [\**O. Casel*, ThR 24, 1925, 41-47; *P. de Labriolle*, RC 58, 1924, 429 ff.; \**B. Capelle*, RBd sup. 1, nos. 137, 192.] — *Harden, J. M.*, An Introduction to Ethiopic Christian Literature. Lond., S. P. C. K., 1926. vii, 111 pp. [ExpT 38, 1926, 68; *P. Peeters*, AB 44, 1926, 398; *A. Klingenheben*, OLZ 30, 1927, 582.] — \**Harnack, Adolf von*, Die



Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus und die anderen vorkonstantinischen christlichen Briefsammlungen—L., Hinrichs, 1926. 87 pp. [*M. Dibelius*, ThLZ 51, 1926, 425 ff.; *A. Deissmann*, DLZ 47, 1926, 1281–1284; *E. Jacquier*, RSR 17, 1927, 358 ff.; *E. Klostermann*, OLZ 30, 1927, 177 f.; *J. Lebreton*, RHE 23, 1927, 634; *O. Cullmann*, RHPR 7, 1927, 193 ff.] — *\*Hermann, Theodor*, Die Schule von Nisibis vom 5. bis 7. Jahrhundert (ZNW 25, 1926, 89–122). — *\*Hopfner, Theodor*, Index locupletissimus [of Migne, Patrologia Graeca] tam in opera omnia omnium auctorum veterum quam in adjectas praefationes, dissertationes, commentationes omnes omnium virorum doctorum recentium per capita operum omnium argumenta complectens. Accedit indiculus auctorum ex ordine tomorum, indiculus auctorum ex ordine alphabetico, indiculus methodicus. Vol. I, Part 1: Pseudo-Clemens-Origenes. P., Geuthner, 1928. 96 pp. 4°. — *Melinossi, Giuseppina*, Socrate nella tradizione cristiana dei primi secoli (Did n.s. 9, 1930, 125–176). — *\*Monceaux, Paul*, Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe. Vol. VI: Littérature donatiste au temps de saint Augustin. Vol. VII: Saint Augustin et le donatisme. P., Leroux, 1922, 1923, 409, 295 pp. [*P. de Labriolle*, RC 57, 1923, 465–468; *J. Simon*, AB 41, 1923, 432 f.; *E. Amann*, RSRUS 4, 1924, 296–311; *P. Alfarié*, RH 146, 1924, 253 ff.; *E. de Faye*, RHPR 5, 1925, 292 ff.] — *\*Nunn, H. P. V.*, An Introduction to Ecclesiastical Latin. C., University Press, 1922. xiii, 162 pp.; N. Y., Macmillan, 1928. 177 pp. — *\*O'Brien, Sister Mary Bridget*, Titles of Address in Christian Latin Epistolography (PSt 21). W., 1930. — *Peradze, G.*, Die altchristliche Literatur in der georgischen Ueberlieferung (OChr 3rd ser., no. 3/4, 1928/29, 109–116, 282–288). — *Prat, F.*, Imitation ou plagiat? Emprunts littéraires des Pères de l'Église (RAp 38, 1924, 257–266). — *\*Priesnig, A.*, Die biographischen Formen der griechischen Heiligenlegenden in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. Munich dissertation. Münsterstadt, Uhlein, 1924. 98 pp. — *\*Raby, F. J. E.*, A History of Christian Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages. O., Clarendon Press, 1927. viii, 491 pp. [*M. Manitius*, PhW 48, 1928, 490 ff.; *J. Lebon*, RHE 24, 1928, 404–407; *G. Ficker*, ZKG 47, 1928, 110 f.; *C. Jenkins*, ChQ 107, 1928, 147–155.] — *Silva Tarouca, C.*, Le antiche lettere dei Papi e le loro edizioni (CC 72, V, 1, 1921, 13–22, 323–336). — *\*Stählin, Gustav*, Skandalon. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte eines biblischen Begriffs (BFTTh 24). Gütersloh, Bertelsmann, 1930. xv, 496 pp. [*W. Mundle*, ThLZ 56, 1931, 556 ff.; *B. Rigaux*, RHE 28, 1932, 351 sqq.] — *\*Thornell, G.*, Ad diversos scriptores [Minucius, Arnobius, Hilary, Orosius, Gregory the Great] conjectanea et interpretatoria (Strena philologica upsalsensia, 383–392). Upsala, Berlings, 1922; Patristica. Upsala, Lundequistska Bokhandel, 1923. 26 pp. [Notes on Arnobius and Tertullian.] — *\*Tixeront, J.*, Mélanges de patrologie et d'histoire des dogmes. P., 1921. v, 279 pp. [*T. Schoell*, RHPR, 1, 1921, 471–474; *M. Goguel*, RHPR 84, 1921, 166; *P. II.*, Greg 3, 1922, 593 f.] — *\*Weyman, C.*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie. M., Hueber, 1926. xii, 308 pp. [*M. Manitius*, PhW 47, 1927, 590 ff.; *K. Strecker*, DLZ 48, 1927, 461 f.; *\*RBd* sup 1, no. 588.]

*Monceaux* has rounded out his great work, the first volume of which appeared in 1901, with a most excellent analysis of

the Donatist literature and St. Augustine's anti-donatist writings. His book has the none too common merit of keeping form and content evenly balanced, so that we are at a loss whether to admire more the scholarship which has so thoroughly and profoundly investigated the sources or the eloquence with which the results of the author's independent researches are set forth. Volume VII contains chronological tables for the dates of composition of Augustine's works. — *Raby's* History of Christian Latin Poetry also deserves special praise. It deals, however, chiefly with mediaeval poetry, which lies outside of our province. — *Tixeront* has collected lectures and addresses on various subjects. Those which concern us are: The Apology of Aristides, the Pædagogus of Clement of Alexandria, and Nature and Person in the Fathers of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries. — *Cataudella* has treated a most interesting subject with shrewd judgment. Christian writers are usually thought to have expressed only negative criticism of ancient literature, but Cataudella has shown that such a view is one-sided. His book is in three sections: (1) The general relationship of literature and Christianity (see also *Bardy*); (2) Anti-pagan polemic, especially Tatian; (3) The transformation of the chief forms of classical Aesthetics (the ideas of the beautiful, of imagination, of language, of poetic licence, of allegory) under the hands of Christian writers. *Geffcken's* criticism deserves attention. — *Harnack* treats the collections of epistles in the early church from the point of view of the history of literature, and discusses not only the extant collections of letters of Paul, Ignatius, and Cyprian, but also those of writers of whose work we have but scanty remains — Dionysius of Corinth, Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria. The characterization of the individual writers betrays everywhere the master's hand. — *Hermann* has done a valuable service in collecting and critically examining all the evidence concerning the school of the Nestorians at Nisibis and concerning their Persian academy, which stands in relation to the school at Edessa.

Beside Cavallera's well-known Index to Migne's Patrology (1912, new edition in 1928), there now stands *Hopfner's* much more detailed work. The statements in the title indicate the

wealth of its contents. The whole work is to comprise two volumes of about eight hundred double-column pages, and will cost about 250 francs. — The *Specimina Codicum* of *Franchi de' Cavalieri* and *Lietzmann*, first issued in 1910, have come to a second edition, in which the material is so extremely well presented that every seminar or similar institution should buy it. The reproduction of the manuscripts is most successful. — *Nunn* has written a general introduction to ecclesiastical Latin. The section on syntax has been especially praised. — *Birt* (1933), *Thörnell*, and *Weyman* (1931) offer observations on language and words. *Weyman's* contributions have grown into a substantial volume, which the *Revue bénédictine*, with good reason, calls a veritable thesaurus. — *Getzeny* compares the earlier papal epistle with letters of other church writers, pronouncements of Synods, secular official language, and personal writings, showing that the papal letters of the time have, in general, the character of friendly Christian edifying private letters. A sudden change came with the well-known Decretal of *Siricius* (384), in which all at once the imperial style appeared, to remain the controlling style for later times. — Sister *Lucilla Dinneen* and Sister *Mary O'Brien* include under 'Titles of Address' not only nouns and substantives which are titles in the strict sense, but also adjectives which are conventionally used as titles of distinction or as epithets. The lists are useful. — The laborious studies of *Ghellinck* with three collaborators, on the history of the word *sacramentum*, are sharply criticized by *Casel*, chiefly for too closely isolating the word and the idea. At least some discussion of *μυστήριον* and *mysterium* ought to have been added. *Capelle*, however, thinks this criticism excessive. — *Stählin's* semasiological essay on *σκάνδαλον* and *σκανδαλίζειν* deals with the place of origin and original meaning of the Greek word, referring also to the corresponding Hebrew terms and discussing the usage of the Septuagint and the New Testament and the changes of meaning that have taken place in ecclesiastical language, both in the Greek East and the Latin West down to the Middle Ages.



(b) *Doctrine*

*Anwander, A.*, Zur Trinitätslehre der nachorigenistischen alexandrinischen Theologen bis Arius (ThQ 102, 1921, 190-219). — *Bonwetsch, Nathanael*, Zur Geschichte des Begriffs 'Gnade' in der alten Kirche (Festgabe für A. von Harnack, 93-101. Tübingen, Mohr, 1921). — *Clement, P.*, Le sens chrétien de la maternité divine de Marie aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles. Bruges, Beyart, 1929. 80 pp. [*A. d'Alès*, RSR 19, 1929, 535.] — *\*Eibl, Hans*, Augustin und die Patristik. M., Reinhardt, 1923. 462 pp. [*H. Koch*, ThLZ 49, 1924, 369 ff.; *J. Lenz*, ThR 25, 1926, 55 ff.] — *\*Frick, Robert*, Die Geschichte des Reich-Gottes-Gedankens in der alten Kirche bis zu Origenes und Augustin (Supplement to ZNW 6). Giessen, Töpelmann, 1928. viii, 155 pp. [*\*H. Koch*, ThLZ 54, 1929, 350 ff.; *H. Dörries*, ZKG 49, 1930, 456; *J. Lebon*, RHE 25, 1929, 353-356; *B. Capelle*, RTAM 1, 1929, 389 f.; JR 9, 1929, 159; *A. Bill*, RHPR 10, 1930, 201 f.; *H. A. van Bakel*, NTT 18, 1929, 367 ff.] — *Galtier, P.*, L'enseignement des Pères sur la vision béatifique dans le Christ (RSR 15, 1925, 54-68). — *\*Gronau, K.*, Das Theodizeeproblem in der altchristlichen Auffassung. Tübingen, Mohr, 1922. viii, 130 pp. [*\*H. Windisch*, ThLZ 47, 1922, 522 ff.; *A. Loisy*, RC 57, 1923, 126; *J. Gerharz*, ThR 22, 1923, 362 ff.] — *\*Harnack, Adolf von*, Die Entstehung der christlichen Theologie und des kirchlichen Dogmas. Gotha, Klotz, 1927. 90 pp. [*J. Lebon*, RHE 24, 1928, 482 f.; *L. Zscharnack*, ZKG 46, 1927, 313 f.; *H. R. Mackintosh*, ExpT 39, 1927, 38 f.; *H. Koch*, ThLZ 52, 1927, 322 f.] — *\*Kattenbusch, Ferdinand*, Die Entstehung einer christlichen Theologie (Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche n.s. 11, 1930, 161-205). — *Kirk, K. E.*, The Evolution of the Doctrine of the Trinity (Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation, edited by A. E. J. Rawlinson, Lond. and N. Y., Longmans, Green, 1928, 157-237). — *\*Koch, Hugo*, Adhuc Virgo. Mariens Jungfrauschaft und Ehe in der altkirchlichen Ueberlieferung bis zum Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts (BHT 2). Tübingen, Mohr, 1929. 44 pp. [*A. Eberle*, ThR 29, 1930, 153 ff.; *G. Krüger*, ZKG 49, 1930, 92; *F. Kattenbusch*, ThLZ 56, 1931, 161; *L. Th. Lefort*, RHE 26, 1930, 679-682; ExpT 41, 1930, 279; *B. Capelle*, RTAM 2, 1930, 388-395.] — *Lebreton, Jules*, Histoire du dogme de la trinité. 2 vols. I. Les origines. II. De S. Clément à S. Irénée. P., Beauchesne, 1927, 1928. xxiv, 694; xxii, 703 pp. [*A. d'Alès*, RSR 18, 1928, 521-525; *G. Bardy*, RAp 46, 1928, 280-294; *J. F. Bethune-Baker*, JThSt 30, 1929, 435 f.; *A. Gaudel*, RSR 19, 1929, 257-274; *J. Huby*, Ét 148, 1929, 385-399; *M. Schmaus*, ThR 29, 1930, 481-486]; 'Αγέννητος dans la tradition philosophique et dans la littérature chrétienne du II<sup>e</sup> siècle (RSR 16, 1926, 431-443). — *Rivière, Jean*, Le dogme de la rédemption après saint Augustin. P., Gabalda, 1930. iv, 303 pp. — *Rougier, L.*, L'accord de la raison et de la foi chez les Pères de l'Eglise (RHS 38, 1924, 83-112). — *\*Sartori, A.*, Il concetto di ipostasi e l'enozi dogmatica ai concilii di Efeso e di Calcedonia. Turin, Marietti, 1927. 142 pp. [*\*J. Lebon*, RHE 23, 1927, 709 f.] — *Slomkowski, Antoine*, L'état primitif de l'homme dans la tradition de l'église avant saint Augustin. P., Gabalda, 1928. 158 pp. — *\*Weigl, Eduard*, Christologie vom Tode des Athanasius bis zum Ausbruch des nestorianischen Streites. (MStTh 4). Kempten, Kösel, 1925, viii, 216 pp. [*J. Lebon*, RHE 22, 1926, 89-94; *\*F. Loofs*, ThLZ 51, 1926, 134 ff.; *F. Bauer*, ThR 25, 1926, 212 ff.; *G. Krüger*, ThBl 5, 1926, 48.]

*Lebreton's* great work is at first sight terrifying by its size, with 1400 pages on the history of the doctrine of the Trinity in the first two centuries alone; but it presently appears that the range of topics covered is uncommonly broad. The first volume treats in great detail the relation of hellenistic thought and of the Old Testament to the doctrine, besides presenting a thorough study of the New Testament writings. The second deals with second-century paganism, Gnosis and Marcionism, the faith of the church (baptismal confession, ante-nicene liturgy), the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and Irenaeus. The whole work gives evidence of acquaintance with the latest development of the subject in all countries. For the new edition of volume I (1st edition, 1909), he is fortunately able to include the German literature, which during and just after the war was only in part available to him. Thus, he is fully acquainted with the investigations of the baptismal confession and discusses Harnack's Marcion. His judgment, so far as I have tested the book, is sober and without prejudice. Even one who cannot accept the author's fundamental position, that in the trinitarian elaboration of the doctrine of God is to be seen the ultimate revelation, beyond which no further progress is possible, must still recognize the scholarly seriousness and the recognition of historical relations which characterize the work. It is to be regretted that Lebreton has had to give up his original plan of continuing the history of the doctrine as far as Augustine. The third volume will stop with the Council of Nicaea. — Beside this colossal work *Harnack's* lectures make a modest showing. They deal first with the separation of Christianity from Judaism and the rise of the church, together with the sources and authorities for the primitive Christian preaching and the basic thought of this preaching as the starting point for theology and dogma. Though the ideas are familiar to those who know Harnack's views, yet this summing up of nearly half-a-century of study of these questions deserves attention. — *Kattenbusch* gives a thorough methodological study of the concepts, *θεολογία* and *θεολογῆν*, for the time at which they came into use. — *Weigl* is already favorably known to scholars through two considerable studies on

Cyril of Alexandria's doctrine of salvation (1909) and on the christology of Athanasius (1914). His new work is also universally commended. Not that the lines laid down by Protestant writers on the history of doctrine are exactly wiped off the page by this scholarly exposition from the Catholic side, but corrections in detail may be gratefully admitted. Even the highly critical *Loofs* admits that he has learned much from Weigl. — On the other hand, *Sartori's* lengthy discussion of the meaning of *hypostasis* and *henosis*, according to the competent judgment of *Lebon*, contributes nothing new. — *Gronau* throws valuable light on the important topic of theodicy, with regard to which investigation has been hitherto inadequate. He cites chiefly the writers of the later centuries, who, on the basis of profounder classical education, have united Pauline and Stoic principles more completely than did the Christian writers of the earliest period. — *Frick* traces the development of the idea of the kingdom of God, and so of eschatology, as far as Origen, and in the West as far as Augustine. He shows a scholarly understanding, but goes too much into detail. Compare *Koch's* statement of the results. — *Koch* presents proof that the idea of the perpetual virginity (*ἀειπαρθενία*) of Mary had in the early centuries only an apocryphal existence. — The title of *Eibl's* book is misleading. He attempts to expound Christian doctrine so far as it presents a philosophy of history. It is the theme of the education of the human race through the Logos. In nine sections, the history of this theme in Christian thought is traced from the earliest times to John of Damascus. The work owes its title to the especially careful treatment of Augustine's thought which distinguishes it. In treating primitive Christianity, this Catholic scholar does not show the same critical freedom from polemic spirit that characterizes his investigations in other fields.

*Rivière's* book is made up of articles from RSRUS (9, 1929, 11-42, 153-189, 305-342, 477-512; 10, 1930, 99-149, 416-459, 577-621). The point is directed against Turmel, who, under the pen-name Gallerand, had treated the same subject (RHR, 91, 1925, 35-76) in a superficial manner. *Rivière* gives a profound statement of the doctrine of Popes Leo I and Gregory I

on salvation. See *below*, VIII B (b), Augustine, Doctrine, under Gallerand-Rivière.<sup>3</sup>

The dissertation of *Slomkowski*, a pupil of Rivière, merits consideration for the care with which he has worked through a great mass of material; the literature is given in full.

### III. THE CREED

*Abramowski, Rudolf*, Das Symbol des Amphilochius (ZNW 29, 1930, 129-135). [An edition of the creed in Syriac.] — *\*Badcock, F. J.*, The Old Roman Creed (JThSt 23, 1922, 362-389). — *\*Brinktrine, J.*, Die trinitarischen Bekenntnisformeln und Taufsymbole (ThQ 102, 1921, 156-190). — *\*Burn, A. E.*, The Authorship of the "Quicumque vult" (JThSt 27, 1926, 19-28). [*\*G. Morin*, RBd sup 1, no. 586.] — *\*Capelle, Bernard*, Le symbole romain au second siècle (RBd 39, 1927, 37-45); Les origines du symbole romain (RTAM 2, 1930, 5-20). — *\*Connolly, R. H.*, On the Text of the Baptismal Creed of Hippolytus (JThSt 25, 1924, 131-139). — *Froidevaux, Léon*, Le symbole de saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge (RSR 19, 1929, 193-247). [Exegesis of the text.] — *Ghellinck, J. de*, L'histoire du symbole des apôtres. À propos d'un texte d'Eusèbe (RSR 18, 1928, 118-125). — *Koch, Hugo*, Lo stile delle antiche formule di fede (RR 5, 1929, 50-59). — *\*Lake, Kirsopp*, The Apostles' Creed (HThR 17, 1924, 173-183). — *\*Lebreton, Jules*, Les origines du symbole baptismal (RSR 20, 1930, 97-124). — *\*Lietzmann, Hans*, Die Anfänge des Glaubensbekenntnisses (Festgabe für A. v. Harnack, 226-242). Tübingen, Mohr, 1921; Symbolstudien (ZNW 21, 1922, 1-34; 22, 1923, 257-279; 24, 1925, 193-203; 26, 1927, 75-95). [*A. v. Harnack*, ZNW 24, 1925, 203.] — *Loofs, Friedrich*, Das Nicaenum (Festgabe für K. Müller, 68-82). Tübingen, Mohr, 1922. — *\*Nussbaumer, Arnold*, Das Ursymbolum nach der Epideixis des heiligen Irenäus und dem Dialog Justins des Märtyrers (FLDG 14, 2). Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1921. xii, 115 pp. [*G. Krüger*, LZB 73, 1922, 27; *F. Kattenbusch*, DLZ 43, 1922, 557-560; *B. Dörholt*, ThR 21, 1922, 258 ff.] — *\*Schwartz, Eduard*, Das Nicaenum und das Constantinopolitanum auf der Synode von Chalkedon (ZNW 25, 1926, 38-88). — *\*Seeberg, Reinhold*, Zur Geschichte der Entstehung des apostolischen Symbols (ZKG 40, 1922, 1-41). — *Smital, O.*, Symbolum apostolicum (Pegasus Press series). N. Y., Harcourt, 1929. — *\*Stiglmayr, Josef*, Das 'Quicumque' und Fulgentius von Ruspe (ZKTh 49, 1925, 341-357). — *Wanach, Martha*, Die Rhythmik im altrömischen Symbol (ThStKr 95, 1923, 125-133). — *Westphal, A.*, Le symbole des apôtres: ses origines, sa formation, la valeur religieuse de son enseignement. Neuilly, La Cause, 1924. 128 pp.

In further pursuance of the method followed by Holl, Harnack, Lietzmann and Haussleiter in their investigations (see

<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, *Rivière* has carried his studies a step further: Le dogme de la rédemption. Études critiques et documents. (Bibliothèque de la RHE 5) Louvain, Bureaux de la Revue, 1931. x, 441 pp.



Harvard Theological Review, 1921, 341 ff. and Lake's lucid article), it seems to be agreed that in the earliest history of the creed, two strata can be distinguished: a trinitarian symbol and a christological kerygma; the separate existence of the latter in the *praefatio* of the eucharistic liturgy has been demonstrated by Lietzmann (1921). *Capelle* stands alone in refusing to admit this, and his views do not seem likely to be accepted. In continuing his studies, *Lietzmann* has more and more been brought to the opinion that this Roman symbol and the oriental forms of the creed arose independently, two shoots from the same root, which is itself to be sought in the Orient. The formula which established itself in the west (R) is based on a baptismal confession of nine clauses, into which the christological kerygma, long a part of the Roman liturgy, was inserted as an interpretation of the two titles of Christ (Son of God, Our Lord). — *Lake* accepts *Lietzmann's* reasoning as in the main correct ("R is a conflation of two expansions of the two formulae for baptism current in the early church"), but thinks that the "inserted κήρυγμα" is "not the invention of Rome; but . . . seems to have Latin rather than Greek affiliations, and possibly to be originally African." The present writer feels that the material for deciding such questions is insufficient. — *Badcock's* fantastic assertion that R was introduced into the west in the fourth century by Marcellus of Ancyra, as his creed, is rightly rejected by *Lietzmann*. — So also is *Seeberg's* complicated hypothesis of an R<sup>1</sup> lying behind R<sup>2</sup>, with, still further back, a primitive form (U<sup>2</sup> and even U<sup>1</sup>). — *Nussbaumer*, whose work, it seems to me, has not received sufficient recognition, bases his study on the Epideixis of Irenaeus, which in its construction shows a close relation to early Christian kerygmata and also to Justin's Dialogue with Trypho. Since Irenaeus is certainly not dependent here upon Justin, we are justified in drawing inferences from these two writers as to the original form of the baptismal confession. *Nussbaumer*, too, thinks that R is composite, formed from both a trinitarian and a christological formula which by the middle of the second century already had fixed forms but maintained their separate existence. — *Lebreton* carries further the brief suggestions of

his large work (p. 185, *above*) in line with the most recent investigations. — *Brinktrine* discusses (1) the formula, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; (2) the origin of the baptismal questions from the symbol; (3) the origin of the baptismal confession, which in his opinion is not so closely related to the act of baptism as are the baptismal questions. — *Connolly* tries to reconstruct the baptismal confession of Hippolytus from the translations and from the recensions of it in the *Testamentum Domini Jesu Christi* and the *Canons*.

*Lietzmann* devotes a separate study to the question whether the Nicene creed, as scholars at present assume, is merely an altered form of the creed of Caesarea, laid before the Synod by Eusebius. He rejects this view, believing rather that the Council took up an early confession of the Jerusalem type. *Harnack* would agree with this, but thinks that several creeds, including that of Caesarea on which Eusebius lays special stress, must have been presented to the Council. — Similarly *Schwartz*, in opposition to the current view that the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed is merely a revised form of the creed of Jerusalem, holds that it [the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed] is indeed drawn from older confessions, of which the Jerusalem creed may have been one, but that it cannot be determined by whom and with what purpose the Nicene-Constantinopolitan mosaic was put together. — To the attempts to ascertain the authorship of the "Quicumque vult" (Athanasian creed), *Stiglmayr* has contributed an ascription to Fulgentius of Ruspe, but his suggestion has not won approval. *Burn* declares himself now convinced that Ambrose is the author, as Brewer affirmed in 1909. On the other hand, *Morin* still maintains that if the author of it was an individual person, only Caesarius of Arles comes in question.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In a recent article (*L'origine du symbole d'Athanase*, *RBd* 44, 1932, 207-219) the learned Benedictine gives ample proof of the Creed being inserted into the Caesarean collections by the wish of Caesarius, but resigns himself as to the authorship: "Je ne pense pas que celui-ci ait composé lui-même la formule."

## IV. ACTS OF MARTYRS

GENERAL. \**Delehaye, Hippolyte*, Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires. Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1921. viii, 448 pp. [*F. Kattenbusch*, ThLZ 48, 1923, 58-61.] Martyr et confesseur (AB 39, 1921, 20-49); La méthode historique et l'hagiographie (Académie Royale Belgique, Classe des Lettres, 1930, no. 7). — \**Fernhout, Jan*, De martyrologii hieronymiani fonte, quod dicitur, martyrologium syriacum. Groningen dissertation. The Hague, 1922. xv, 152, 76 pp. [*H. Delehaye*, AB, 41, 1923, 423-425; *G. Morin*, RBd sup 1, no. 183.] — \**Kirsch, Johann Peter*, Das Martyrologium Hieronymianum und die römische "Depositio martyrum" (Festgabe für Albert Ehrhard, 253-272). Bonn, Schroeder, 1922; Die Berner Handschrift des Martyrologium Hieronymianum (RQ 31, 1924, 113-124). — \**Knopf, Rudolf*, Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten, Third edition revised by *Gustav Krüger* (SQ n.s. 3). Tübingen, Mohr, 1929. xi, 135 pp. [*K. Heussi*, ThLZ 55, 1930, 351; *J. Kroll*, DLZ 52, 1931, 1394-1397; *A. Rucker*, ThR 29, 1930, 242 f.; *F. Halkin*, AB 48, 1930, 369 ff.; *E. Buonaiuti*, RR 7, 1931, 65 f.] — *Le Blant, Edmond*, Les actes des martyrs. Supplément aux "acta sincera" de Dom Ruinart. P., Champion, 1923. 300 pp. 4°. — *Owen, E. C. E.*, Some Authentic Acts of the Early Martyrs. Oxford University Press, 1927. 184 pp. [*G. Krüger*, ThLZ, 531, 1928, 209.] — *Quentin, Henry*, La liste des martyrs de Lyon (AB 39, 1921, 113-138).

CARPUS. \**Lietzmann, Hans*, Die älteste Gestalt der Passio SS. Carpi, Papylae et Agathonis (Festgabe für Karl Müller, 46-57). Tübingen, Mohr, 1922.

CYPRIAN. \**Colombo, Sisto*, Gli "Acta proconsularia" del martirio di S. Cipriano e alcuni sermoni di S. Agostino (Did n.s. 3, 1925, 101-108). — \**Conybeare, Frederic C.*, The Armenian Acts of Cyprian (ZNW 21, 1922, 269-277). — \**Delehaye, Hippolyte*, Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage (AB 39, 1921, 314-332).

EUPLUS. — \**Franchi de' Cavalieri, P.*, S. Euplo. Note agiografiche 7 (Studi e Testi 49, 1-54). Rome, Tipografia Vaticana, 1928.

FELIX. \**Delehaye, Hippolyte*, La passion de S. Félix de Thibuca (AB 39, 1921, 241-276).

LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. \**Bardy, G.*, Le discours apologetique de S. Lucien d'Antioche (RHE 22, 1926, 487-512). [*M. Niccoli*, RR2, 1926, 444-448.]

MARCELLUS. *Bonilauri, Antonietta*, Gli Acta Marcelli (Did n.s. 8, 1930, 1-27). — *Delehaye, Hippolyte*, Les Actes de saint Marcel le centurion (AB 41, 1923, 257-287).

PERPETUA. \**Gatti, Luigi*, La Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis (Did n.s. 1, 1923, fasc. 1, 31-43). — *Johnston, J. A.*, The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas (Month 153, 1929, 216-222). — \**Salonius, A. H.*, Passio Sanctae Perpetuae. Helsingfors, Centraltryckeri, 1921. iv, 81 pp. [*B. Sodar*, RBd sup

1, 41; *G. Krüger*, *LZB* 73, 1922, 258 f.] — *Shewring, W. H.*, Prose Rhythm in the *Passio Perpetuae* (*JThSt* 30, 1929, 56 f.).

PHILEAS. \**Knipfing, J. R.*, The Date of the Acts of Phileas and Philoromus (*HThR* 16, 1923, 198–203).

PIONIUS. *Wohleb, Leo*, Die Ueberlieferung des Pionius-Martyriums (*RQ* 37, 1929, 173–178).

GENERAL. *Krüger's* new revision of *Knopf's* Acts of Martyrs takes into account not only the better sources of the texts that have been published since 1920 but also the material furnished by von Gebhardt's *Acta martyrum selecta* (now out of print) and such other Acts as can claim historical value. Thus the Latin version of the Acts of Carpus and his companions, which had been edited by Franchi de'Cavalieri and again by Lietzmann (see *below*) has been placed beside the Greek version, and the Greek version of the Acts of Euplus in Franchi's text, beside the Latin. New are the Acts of Acacius, Conon, Marinus and Jacobus, Montanus and Lucius, Fructuosus, Cassianus, Irenaeus, Julius, Claudius, Crispina, and finally the Martyrdom of Saba the Goth, which forms a remarkable parallel to the Martyrdom of Polycarp. This edition is by far the most complete repertory of proper "Acta sincera" in existence, but I am sorry to confess, that the printer's devil has left more traces than can be pardoned. — In a delightfully written book, *Delehaye* has discussed the literary form of the Acts of Martyrs. He distinguishes: (1) Historical passions, that is, accounts which give merely the facts; (2) Panegyric passions, designed to honor the martyrs on their festal days and to edify believers; (3) Epic passions, in which an element of romance is added to that of edification. From these Acts of Martyrs *Delehaye* distinguishes the strictly hagiographical texts, to which he devotes a special chapter. His mastery of the subject is everywhere apparent. — *Kirsch* finds the source of the Roman notices in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in the so-called *Depositio* of the year 354, and elucidates the relation of the two documents. — *Fernhout's* work, in spite of the author's pretensions, is pronounced superficial and without scholarly value by two such competent judges as *Delehaye* and



*Morin.* — Readers of English will find in *Owen* fluent translations from reliable texts and good notes.

VARPUS. *Lietzmann* prints the Latin text discovered by *Franchi de'Cavalieri* and published in *Studi e Testi* (vol. 33, Rome, 1920), in such a way as to show clearly its divergences from the Greek.

CYPRIAN. *Delehaye* points out that Gregory Nazianzen and Prudentius used for their panegyric on Cyprian a text in which the bishop of Carthage was confounded with the magician of Antioch. — *Conybeare* renders into English an Armenian translation of the fifth century. — *Colombo* thinks it impossible to determine on which recension of the *Acta Cypriani* Saint Augustine's sermons were based.

EUPLUS. The Greek translation of the Acts, discovered and published by *Franchi*, appears to be superior to the Latin.

FELIX. *Delehaye* tries to reconstruct the original text from the various versions. *Krüger* has adopted this text for his edition.

LUCIAN. Into his translation of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, at the point where Lucian is mentioned (H. E. 9, 6), Rufinus inserts a speech with which Lucian is supposed to have defended himself before the judge. *Bardy* prints the Apology with his usual care, and adds a detailed commentary. He shows that the speech was not invented by Rufinus, but comes from the beginning of the fourth century, and that it gives a good picture of Lucian's teaching. *Niccoli* is not convinced of this.

MARCELLUS. According to *Delehaye*, the Spanish form of the Acts of Marcellus the Centurion is inferior to that preserved in Codex Parisinus 17002. It is important to take both texts into account, and *Krüger* therefore gives both.

PERPETUA. *Salonius* would reverse the view usually held since Robinson (1901) of the priority of the Latin text to the Greek, but neither his linguistic nor his other arguments are satisfactory to the present writer. His contention is rejected also by *Sodar* and *Gatti*.

PHILEAS. *Knipfing* considers the Acts to be of historical value and assigns them to the year 307.

## V. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS, ETC.

GENERAL. \**Bihlmeyer, Karl*, Die Apostolischen Väter. Neubearbeitung der Funkschen Ausgabe. Part 1 (SQ, 2nd ser., no. 1). Tübingen, Mohr, 1924. V, 163 pp. [*Th. Schoell*, RHRP 5, 1925, 190 f.; *J. Simon*, AB 43, 1925, 156 f.; *B. Capelle*, RbD 37, 1925, 294 f.] — *Choppin, L.*, La trinité chez les Pères Apostoliques. P., Desclée, 1925. 130 pp. — \**Grenfell, B. P.* and *Hunt, A. S.*, Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Vol. XV. Lond., Quaritch, 1922. 250 pp. — *Korn, Hans*, Die Nachwirkung der Christismystik des Apostels Paulus in den apostolischen Vätern. L., Noske, 1928. viii, 84 pp. [*W. Michaelis*, BNJ 6, 1929, 589.] — *Marty, J.*, Étude de textes cultuels de prière conservés par les Pères Apostoliques (RHRP 10, 1930, 90-98).

BARNABAS. \**Muilenberg, James*, The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Marburg, privately printed, 1929. xii, 170 pp. [*G. Krüger*, ThLZ 55, 1930, 226 f.; \**F. C. Burkitt*, JThSt 33, 1932, 23 ff.; \**R. H. Connolly*, *ibid.*, 237-252; *B. Altaner*, ZKG 51, 1932, 556 f.]

CLEMENT OF ROME. *Bardy, G.*, Expressions stoiciennes dans la Prima Clementis (RSR 12, 1922, 73-85). — *Delafosse, Henri* (= Joseph Turmel), La lettre de Clément Romain aux Corinthiens (RHR 97, 1928, 53-89). — *Giordani, Igino*, S. Clemente Romano e la sua lettera ai Corinti. Turin Società editrice internazionale, 1925, 103 pp. — \**Harnack, Adolf, von*, Einführung in die alte Kirchengeschichte. Das Schreiben der römischen Kirche an die korinthische aus der Zeit Domitians (Erster Clemensbrief). L., Hinrichs, 1929. 128 pp. [*H. von Campenhausen*, DLZ 51, 1930, 434 f.; *H. Koch*, ThLZ 55, 1930, 250-253; *J. Lebon*, RHE 26, 1930, 438 f.; *F. Pangerl*, ZKTh 54, 1930, 296 f.] — \**Lorimer, W. L.* Clement of Rome, Epistle 1, 44 (JThSt 25, 1924, 404).

SECOND CLEMENT. \**Harris, James Rendel*, The Authorship of the So-called Second Epistle of Clement (ZNW 23, 1924, 193-200). — \**Krüger, Gustav*, Bemerkungen zum zweiten Klemensbrief (Studies in Early Christianity, 417-439). N. Y., The Century Company, 1927. [\**A. v. Harnack*, ThLZ 53, 1928, 275 ff.] — \**Windisch, Hans*, Das Christentum im zweiten Clemensbrief (Harnack-Ehrung, 119-134). L., Hinrichs, 1921; Julius Casianus und die Clemenshomilie (ZNW 25, 1926, 258-262).

DIDACHE. \**Bartlet, Vernon*, The Didache Reconsidered (JThSt 22, 1921, 239-349). — *Hitchcock, F. R. Montgomery*, Did Clement of Alexandria know the Didache? (JThSt 24, 1923, 397-401.) [Presumably he did.] — \**Horner, G.*, A New Papyrus Fragment of the Didache in Coptic (JThSt 25, 1924, 225-231). [*C. Schmidt*, ZNW 24, 1925, 81-99.] — *Loisy, Alfred*, La Didache et les lettres des Pères Apostoliques (RHLR n.s. 7, 1921, 433-481).

HERMAS. \**Bonner, Campbell*, A Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas in the Papyri of the University of Michigan (HThR 18, 1925, 115-127); A New Fragment of the Shepherd of Hermas, Michigan papyrus 44 H (HThR 20, 1927, 105-116). — *Deemter, Roelof van*, Der Hirt des Hermas Apokalypse

oder Allegorie? Amsterdam dissertation. Delft, Meinema, 1929. vii, 167, 3 pp. — *Harris, James Rendel*, The Shepherd of Hermas in the West (Exp T 39, 1928, 259-261). — *\*Lake, Kirsopp*, The Shepherd of Hermas (HThR 18, 1925, 279 f.). — *\*Riddle, D. W.*, The Messages of the Shepherd of Hermas (JR 7, 1927, 561-577). — *Schlaeger, G.*, Der Hirt des Hermas eine ursprünglich jüdische Schrift (NTT 16, 1927, 327-342). — *\*Wilson, William J.*, The Career of the Prophet Hermas (HThR 20, 1927, 21-62).

IGNATIUS. *\*Delafosse, Henri* (= Joseph Turmel), Nouvel examen des lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche (RHLR n.s. 8, 1922, 303-337, 477-533); Lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche. Traduction, Introduction, notes. P., Rieder, 1929. 167 pp. [*M. Monachesi*, RR 4, 1928, 76-81; *G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga*, NTT 17, 1928, 271-277; *M. Goguel*, RC 95, 1928, 329-332; *A. Siouville*, RHR 96, 1927, 413-417; *H. Dörries*, ThLZ 53, 1928, 392 f.; *G. Bardy*, RAP 46, 1928, 476 ff.] — *\*Harris, James Rendel*, Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch (Bulletin, John Rylands Library 11, 1927, 204-231). — *\*Lebreton, Jules*, La théologie de la Trinité d'après saint Ignace d'Antioche (RSR 15, 1925, 97-126, 393-419). — *\*Moffatt, James*, Two Notes on Ignatius, Magnesians 1, and Justin Martyr, Apologia 1, 62 f. (HThR 23, 1930, 153-159). [Textual criticisms.] Ignatius of Antioch. A study in Personal Religion (JR 10, 1930, 169-186). — *Monachesi, Maria*, ed., L'Epistolario Ignaziano. Rome, 1925. 128 pp. — *Moricca, Umberto*, Ignazio di Antiochia e Policarpo, vescovo di Smirna: Le lettere, il martirio di Policarpo. Rome, Bilychnis, 1923. 136 pp. — *\*Schlier, Heinrich*, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatius-Briefen (ZNW sup 8). Giessen, Töpelmann, 1929. iv, 188 pp. [*J. Jeremias*, DLZ 51, 1930, 865-868; *A. D. Nock*, JThSt 31, 1930, 308-313; *W. Goossens*, RHE 26, 1930, 439 ff.; *H. Koch*, ThLZ 56, 1931, 539 ff.] — *Walter, Johannes Wilhelm, von*, Ignaz von Antiochien und die Entstehung des Frühkatholizismus (Festschrift für Reinhold Seeberg, 105-118). L., Deichert, 1929.

PAPIAS. *\*Bacon, Benjamin W.*, "Adhuc in Corpore Constituto" (HThR 23, 1930, 305 ff.). — *\*Goetz, Georg*, Papias von Hierapolis oder der Glottograph? (ZNW 27, 1928, 348). — *\*Larfeld, W.*, Ein verhängnisvoller Schreibfehler bei Eusebius (BNJ 3, 1922, 282-285); Das Zeugnis des Papias über die beiden Johannes von Ephesus (NKZ 33, 1922, 490-512); Bischof Papias ein urchristlicher Stenograph? (BNJ 5, 1927, 36-41). [Presumably he was.] — *\*Lawlor, H. J.*, Eusebius on Papias (Hermathena 43, 1922, 167-222). *\*Sykutris, Johannes*, Ein neues Papiaszitat (ZNW 26, 1927, 210-212).

POLYCARP. *Robinson, Joseph Armitage*, Liturgical Echoes in Polycarp's Prayer (JThSt 21, 1920, 97-105; 24, 1923, 141-144). [*J. W. Tyrer*, JThSt 23, 1922, 390 ff.; *R. H. Connolly*, JThSt 24, 1923, 144 ff.]

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES. *\*Cadiou, R.*, Origène et les reconnaissances clémentines (RSR 20, 1930, 506-528). — *Cerfaux, L.*, Le vrai prophète des Clémentines (RSR 18, 1928, 143-163). — *\*Cullmann, O.*, Le problème littéraire et historique du roman pseudo-clémentin (EHPR 23). P., Alcan, 1930. vii, 271 pp. [*\*H. Waitz*, ZKG 50, 1931, 186-194; *\*C. Schmidt*, ThLZ 56, 1931, 533-538; *J. Lebon*, RHE 27, 1931, 361-365.] — *Puech, Aimé*, Quelques observations sur les écrits pseudo-clémentins (RSRUS 10, 1930, 40-46). —

\**Schmidt, Carl*, Studien zu den Pseudo-Clémentinen (TU 46, 1). L., Hinrichs, 1929. vii, 397 pp. [\**H. Waitz*, ZNW 28, 1929, 241-272; *H. Koch*, ThLZ 54, 1929, 481-487.] — \**Siouville, A.*, Introduction aux homélies clémentines (RHR 100, 1929, 142-204). — \**Waitz, Hans*, Die Pseudoklementinen und ihre Quellschriften (ZNW 28, 1929, 241-272).

EPISTULA APOSTOLORUM. \**Delazer, J.*, Disquisitio in argumentum Epistolae Apostolorum (Ant 3, 1928, 369-406); De tempore compositionis Epistolae Apostolorum (Ant 4, 1919, 257-292, 387-430). — \**Duensing, Hugo*, ed., Epistula Apostolorum (Kleine Texte hrsg. von H. Lietzmann, 152). Bonn, Marcus und Weber, 1925. 42 pp. — *James, M. R.*, Epistola Apostolorum: a Possible Quotation (JThSt 23 1922, 56). [In Pseudo-Cyprian De montibus Sina et Sion.] — \**Schneider, Theodor*, Das prophetische "Agraphon" der Epistola Apostolorum (ZNW 24, 1925, 151-154).

EPISTULA TITI. \**De Bruyne, Donatien*, Epistula Titi, discipuli Pauli, de dispositione sanctimonii (RBd 37, 1925, 47-72; RBd sup 1, no. 444/445). [\**A. von Harnack*, SAB 1925, 180-213; *H. Koch* ZNW 32, 1933, 131-144].

Not long ago the writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers were a favorite subject of study and much ingenuity was devoted to the solution of their problems, but the harvest seems now to have been so thoroughly reaped that laborers are few and gleanings meagre. New questions seldom present themselves. *Bihlmeyer's* new edition satisfies all reasonable requirements and through its textual apparatus is superior to all the other editions current among students. The Shepherd of Hermas is lacking; since the editor knew that Professor Campbell Bonner of Ann Arbor was soon to publish a new text of important passages, he did not wish to include the old text in his edition. Unfortunately the Michigan text is not yet published (see Hermas). — The new volume of Oxyrhynchus papyri contains four fragments that are important for the earliest Christian literature: No. 1778, Aristides (p. 207, below); No. 1782, Didache; No. 1783, Hermas (from Mandate 9); No. 1786, Early Christian hymns with archaic musical notation.

BARNABAS. *Muilenburg* would settle the question of the relation between Barnabas and the Didache by a very complete and detailed demonstration that Barnabas is a literary unity, not only as containing no interpolations, but as showing in every letter, even of the last chapters, the characteristics of one and the same author. If that is so, all theories vanish which



explain the last chapters as borrowed from an old form of the Two Ways. Muilenburg even goes so far as to say that the author of the Didache used only Barnabas for his Two Ways chapters. This would put the date of the Didache later than is customary; and in particular the Two Ways, being thus the literary product of the author of Barnabas, who may have written about 130, would disappear from our picture of apostolic and post-apostolic times. "This will mean a complete change in prevailing opinion. Many pages of early church history will need revision." Further discussion will show whether this bold assumption will prevail. Most of the reviewers (Altaner, Burkitt, Connolly) hold the case settled.

CLEMENT OF ROME. Any one who treats early church history in translation with students knows that there is no better introduction than to read with them the First Epistle of Clement. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that *Harnack's* master hand has now so lucidly interpreted the topics which can be discussed in connection with the epistle and has pointed out the way to a true understanding of it. He adds a literal translation. — *Lorimer* shows that the Coptic version agrees with the rest of the tradition in supporting the reading ἐπινομήν.

SECOND CLEMENT. *Krüger* brings together what can be said for the composition of the homily in Corinth, and discusses its relation to other early Christian writings, especially the Acts of Paul and Thecla. *Harnack*, in opposition to *Krüger*, stands by his original opinion, that the sermon comes from Rome. — *Harris* finds the author in the Egyptian encratite Julius Cassian, an idea which *Windisch* rightly deems impossible.

DIDACHE. AS No. 1782 of Volume XV of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, *Grenfell* and *Hunt* give two fragments of the Greek text of the Didache, 1, 3-4 and 2, 7-3, 2, which, although not perfect, are valuable for textual criticism. More important is the fragment Did. 10, 3b-12, 2a, also from an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, which *Horner* has published. Its numerous variants are printed in *Bihlmeyer's* edition, pp. xviii f. — *Bartlet* rejects Robinson's view that the Didache is an antiquarian cento, made with the purpose of recalling the church of the

author's time (later than Origen!) to a greater simplicity by presenting this picture of the primitive Christian society. But he does not find any convincing evidence for the hypothesis of historical fiction.

HERMAS. *Bonner* communicates two fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas in the University of Michigan collection of papyri, a larger one from the Similitudes (2, 9-9, 5, 1) and a smaller one from the Mandates (end of Mand. 2 and opening words of Mand. 3). The larger fragment, which is undoubtedly older than most of those of the Shepherd hitherto published, has preserved most of the sentences missing from the Athos manuscript and heretofore supplied from the Latin version alone. It is thus of considerable importance, and Bonner's edition should mark a new stage in our knowledge of the text. — *Lake* points out the interesting fact that the Michigan papyrus originally began with what is now called the Fifth Vision of Hermas, and raises the question whether two books have not been combined in one. — *Wilson* shows, in an interesting survey of the literary history of the book, that the question must be answered in the affirmative, and that the second section, to which alone the title of 'Shepherd' properly belongs, once circulated by itself. He also treats, rather sceptically, Reitzenstein's suggestion that Hermas borrowed his Shepherd from the Poimandres. — *Riddle* would have the Shepherd studied for the light it throws on the ways in which the Christian communities met the problems presented to them by the forces that were effecting basic changes in the empire in the first half of the second century.

IGNATIUS. By using a method which the present writer cannot grasp *Delafosse* (pseudonym for Joseph Turmel) tried some time ago to prove the letters of Ignatius to be a product of Marcionite thought, and he has not made his theory any more convincing by later modifications. He now distinguishes two versions, one earlier, ascribed to a Marcionite bishop in Syria named Theophorus, and one later, the work of a Catholic writer, who gave an orthodox cast to the documents by eliminating the docetism and identifying Theophorus with the Ignatius mentioned in the letter of Polycarp. I agree with *Loisy*, who

says (*Mémoires* III, 434) that Delafosse is one of those "esprits qui en sont venus à ne plus voir dans l'église qu'une maîtresse perpétuelle de 'pieux mensonges.'" Will this sort of thing never end? — With how much profit, however, the letters can be discussed in their relation to the history of religion, is to be seen in *Schlier's* work, which marks a distinct advance in our understanding of the background and nature of Ignatius's thought. He shows that the letters reveal a type of Christianity having its home in Syria and closely akin to Syrian gnosis in ideas and conceptions. It is characterized by the acceptance of a wide-spread myth, having various forms, of the redeemed Redeemer, which in Ignatius recurs in three forms: (1) in the figure and fate of the historical Jesus Christ; (2) in the peculiar development of the church; (3) in the person and way of the martyrs. Besides pre-valentinian gnosis it contains features (even the figure of the historical Redeemer) which are derived from Iranian gnosis and can be traced in Mandaean and to some extent in Manichean writings. In conjunction with these elements comes the tradition of the Christian church and, finally, points of contact with the ideas of Jewish-Christian Baptist sects occasionally appear. The method with which all this is elaborated is a model. — *Lebreton's* article is an extract from his book on the Trinity (p. 185, *above*). — In view of the frequent attempts to explain the letters of Ignatius as forgeries, a study like that of *Moffatt*, which shows a sympathetic understanding of his piety, is gratifying.

PAPIAS. A quotation from 'Papias' in a recently published *Encomion* on the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1261-1282) is thought by *Sykutris* to come from Papias of Hierapolis. It comes, however, from the Lombard Papias, a mediaeval glossographer, who in turn was using Isidore of Seville. *Goetz* prints the relevant glosses of Isidore. — *Bacon* shows that the testimony of Papias prefixed to the Fourth Gospel by a mediaeval prologue-writer, must refer to the Apocalypse. — *Larfeld* thinks that the riddle presented by the mention of Aristion and John as μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου is to be solved by assuming a slip of the pen of Eusebius, ΙCOY instead of ΙΩY. That may be, or may not. — *Lawlor* thinks that more weight is to be ascribed

to Irenaeus than to Eusebius, and accordingly that Papias was a hearer of the Apostle.

PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES. The problems of history and literary criticism which these writings present have received much attention in recent years. It seems to be agreed that the Recognitions (R) and the Homilies (H) rest on a common basic document, but the question remains whether R was also acquainted with H. There is not so much agreement about the sources of the basic document. Interest has been more and more concentrated on the *κηρύγματα Πέτρον*, which with increasingly clear probability seem to have been composed in the first decades of the second century. *Waitz* and *Schmidt* have done most to elucidate the problems of literary criticism; *Cullmann* has tried, what had never been done before, to establish the larger historical connections of the Kerygmata, and from such investigation to draw inferences with regard to the origin and beginnings of Christianity as well as to the rise of the whole movement of Christian gnosticism. He has won the approval of both *Waitz* and *Schmidt*, who are the most competent of judges. For a final solution of all these problems, the much-desired critical edition of the Pseudo-clementina is necessary.<sup>5</sup> — *Cadiou* proves that the two apocryphal additions in Origen's Commentary on Genesis and in the Latin translation of his Commentary on Matthew come from the Recognitions. — *Siouville* directs attention to Islam and finds the chief significance of the Jewish-Christian romance in its having paved the way for that movement.

EPISTULA APOSTOLORUM. *Duensing's* handy edition of this historically valuable Apocryphon makes it accessible to a wider public than did the costly first edition, by Carl Schmidt (1919). Its special merit lies in the abundant use of the Ethiopic text. For the Coptic text, Schmidt's translation is used. —

<sup>5</sup> *Dies diem docet*. According to *Eduard Schwartz* (*Unzeitgemässe Beobachtungen zu den Clementinen*, ZNW 31, 1932, 151-194), there never existed such a thing as the "Grundschrift" postulated by modern critics. Our Clementines are supposed to be based on an older work of the same character ("aeltere Fassung"), known to Origen and Eusebius, and there is no room for Jewish-Christian *κηρύγματα Πέτρον* to be dated as early as the second century. But compare the answer of *Waitz* in ZKG 52, 1933, 305-318, who maintains the position hitherto held by critics.



*Delazer* offers new arguments for dating the Epistle before 150 and after 100 in Syria. — *Schneider* shows that Jesus's prophecy of the conversion of the apostle Paul and of his missionary activity, found in the epistle, is no agraphon, but was complied by the author of the epistle from passages in Isaiah.

**EPISTULA TITI.** This apocryphon is not a letter, but an address to ascetics of both sexes, apparently (though *Harnack* disagrees) translated from the Greek and composed by a sectarian not far removed from Manichaeism. The text is published for the first time by *de Bruyne*. *Koch* by accurate investigation of the vocabulary shows the close relation of the epistle to Cyprian and in particular to the pseudo-Cyprianic writing *De singularitate clericorum*. The treatise probably comes from Priscillianist circles in Spain.

## VI. Gnostics

**GENERAL.** \**De Faye, Eugène*, Gnostiques et gnosticisme. Étude critique des documents du gnosticisme chrétien aux II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> siècles. Enlarged edition. P., Geuthner, 1925. iii, 547 pp. [*\*F. Loofs*, ThLZ 51, 1926, 362-368; *J. Coppens*, RHE 22, 1926, 822-826; *P. Alfarié*, RHR 93, 1926, 108-115; *J. Lebreton*, RSR 15, 1925, 355-375.] — \**Steffes, Johann Peter*, Das Wesen des Gnostizismus und sein Verhältnis zum katholischen Dogma (FLDG 14, 4). Paderborn, Schoeningh, 1922. x, 360 pp. [*G. Krüger*, LZB 74, 1923, 434 f.]

**BARDAISAN.** \**Haase, Felix*, Neue Bardesanesstudien (OChr 12/14, 1922/24, 129-140).

**CERINTHUS.** *Bardy, Gustav*, Cérinthe (RBibl 30, 1921, 344-373). [Cerinthus was a Judaist, not a Gnostic, as Irenaeus would have it.]

**MARCION.** *Burkitt, Frederic Crawford*, The Exordium of Marcion's Antitheses (JThSt 30, 1929, 279 f.). — \**Harnack, Adolf von*, Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott (TU 45). L., Hinrichs, 1921. xv, 265, 358 pp. 2nd edition, 1924, xv, 235, 455 pp.; Neue Studien zu Marcion (TU 44, 4). 36 pp. [*\*H. von Soden* ZKG 40, 1922, 191-206; *H. Koch*, ThLZ 46, 1921, 313-316; \**H. Vogels*, ThR 21, 1922, 55-59; 23, 1924, 47 f.; 24, 1925, 442-446 (see *Harnack*, ThLZ 51, 1926, 119 f.); *A. d'Alès*, RSR 12, 1923, 137-168; *H. Strohl*, RHRP 3, 1923, 156-168; *H. Raschke*, NTT 12, 1923, 28-44; *G. van den Bergh van Eysinga*, NTT 10, 1921, 218-226; \**W. Bauer*, GGA 1923, 1-14; *R. Draguet*, RHE 22, 1926, 537-550; *J. Lebreton*, RSR 15, 1925, 355-375]; Hat Marcion Christus "den inneren Mensch" genannt? (Festschrift für R. Seeberg 1, 209-215) L., Deichert, 1929; \*Die marcionitischen Prologe zu den Paulusbriefen, eine Quelle des muratorischen Fragments (ZNW 25, 1926, 160-163). [*D. de Bruyne*, Rbd sup 1, no. 541]; \*Der

apokryphe Brief des Apostels Paulus an die Laodicener, eine marcionitische Fälschung aus der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts (SAB 1928, 235-245). [*D. de Bruyne*, RBd sup 1, no. 283.] — *Kayser, H.*, Natur und Gott bei Marcion (ThStKr 101, 1929, 277-296). — *\*Mundle, Wilhelm*, Die Herkunft der "marcionitischen" Prologe zu den paulinischen Briefen (ZNW 24, 1925, 56-77). [*A. v. Harnack*, ZNW 24, 1925, 204-218; *M.-J. Lagrange*, RBibl 35, 1926, 161-172; see *D. de Bruyne*, RBd sup 1, nos. 442, 443, 540.] — *Pott, August*, Marcions Evangelientext (ZKG 42, 1923, 202-223). — *\*Raschke, Hermann*, Die Werkstatt des Markusevangelisten. Jena, Diederichs, 1924. iv, 330 pp. [*E. Klostermann*, OLZ 28, 1925, 241-244; *M. Dibelius*, ThLZ 49, 1924, 397 f.; *W. Nestle*, PhW 45, 1925, 435-439]; Der Römerbrief des Markion nach Epiphanius (Abhandlungen und Vorträge der Bremer wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft 1, 1926, 128-201). [*H. V. Soden*, ThLZ 53, 1928, 274 f.] *Zappalà, Maria*, Etica ed Escatologia in Marcione (RR 3, 1927, 333-355).

PISTIS SOPHIA. *Schmidt, Carl*, Pistis Sophia. Ein gnostisches Originalwerk des dritten Jahrhunderts aus dem Koptischen übersetzt. L., Hinrichs, 1925. xcii, 308 pp. [*F. Haase*, ThR 25, 1926, 211 f.; *W. Spiegelberg*, OLZ 29, 1926, 182-185; *L. Th. Lefort*, RHE 22, 1926, 352 ff.; *J. Lebreton*, RSR 15, 1925, 355-375]; Die Urschrift der Pistis Sophia (ZNW 24, 1925, 218-240). [*\*F. C. Burkitt*, Pistis Sophia and the Coptic Language, JThSt 27, 1926, 148-157.]

SIMONIANS. *Cerfaux, L.*, La gnose simonienne. Nos principales sources (RSR 15, 1925, 489-511; 16, 1926, 5-20, 265-285, 481-503).

VALENTINIANS. *\*Casey, Robert, P.*, Note on Epiphanius, Panarion XXXI, 5-6 (JThSt 29, 1928, 34-40); Two Notes on Valentinian Heresy (HThR 23, 1930, 275-298). — *\*Foerster, Werner*, Von Valentin zu Herakleon (ZNW sup 7). Giessen, Töpelmann, 1928. vii, 116 pp. [*\*W. Voelker*, ThLZ 54, 1929, 487-490; JR 9, 1929, 158; *J. M. Creed*, JThSt 31, 1929, 106 f.; *G. Grütz-macher*, ThLB 50, 1929, 164; *J. Lebon*, RHE 25, 1929, 356 f.]

GENERAL. The new edition of *de Faye's* excellent book does not differ greatly from the first (1913), but the additions bring out more clearly its distinguishing characteristic, which is that the author makes a point of adducing the gnostic sources, whether they exist entire or in fragments, and of building his judgment upon them. He takes pains to indicate the degree of certainty attaching to his conclusions, and is especially restrained in regard to the question of the origin of gnosticism and its position in the history of religions. *Loofs*, with full recognition of the importance of the book, raises many questions as to *de Faye's* general conception. — *Steffes*, as a Roman Catholic, necessarily rejects from the start, as naturalistic, every form and aspect of gnosis, but with this reservation we must commend his work as a comprehensive and scholarly dis-

cussion of pre-christian and Christian gnosticism. He treats the theme, however, rather from the point of view of the philosophy of religion than of the history of religion.

**BARDAISAN.** *Haase*, well-known for his extensive knowledge of Christian orientalia, discusses two questions: (1) What was the original language of the Book of the Laws of Countries? He answers, Syriac. (2) Was Bardaisan the author of the Odes of Solomon? To this he replies, No.

**MARCION.** *Harnack's* famous book on Marcion must be judged in two aspects. First, that of literary criticism. His examination of Marcion's Bible and Antitheses, going into the minutest details, is the fruit of half-a-century of labor. Of special importance are the attempts at reconstruction. For the Gospel, Harnack has had many predecessors, notably Zahn. For the investigation of the Apostolicon, Hilgenfeld had laid down the main lines and Zahn had followed them out, but there were still many corrections to be made and gaps to be filled. For the Antitheses, no satisfactory reconstruction is possible; Harnack merely gives an assemblage of material in an arrangement which he himself says is arbitrary. The second aspect, that of the history of religion and of the church, is of course the more important. Harnack's very high esteem for Marcion's activity is well known; he assigns to him an altogether distinctive position in the history of the second century, with a bearing far beyond the limits of gnosticism. He is doubtless correct and the prevailing inadequate recognition of the significance of Marcion as a reformer must yield to a profounder understanding. His investigations, it should be noted, are not confined to Marcion himself, but cover the history of the Marcionites, especially Apelles and his group. The many criticisms of his book have led Harnack to restate his argument, especially in reply to *Bauer and von Soden*, and with regard to Marcion's Paulinism and gnosticism. *Vogels's* vigorous attack, supported by detailed instances, upon Harnack's construction of the text of Marcion's gospel, has been suitably met by Harnack. — *Raschke* sees Marcion's gospel in the Gospel of Mark, and thinks Marcion's Epistle to the Romans to be the older form of the epistle. This old epistle, undergoing a Catho-

lic revision, took on its present canonical form, and therefore, like the other Pauline epistles, is not by the apostle, but a gnostic product from the first half of the second century. Radicalism of this sort, comparable to that of van den Bergh van Eysinga, is beyond my comprehension, and that of most critics. — *Mundle*, contrary to current views, doubts the Marcionite origin of the Prologues. *Harnack* has replied with good reasons. *Lagrange*, indeed, is not convinced by the reply, but *de Bruyne* holds to his rejection of *Mundle's* contention. *Harnack* thinks that the author of the Canon of Muratori knew the Prologues, and *de Bruyne* agrees, but *Harnack's* hypothesis that the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans was forged in Marcionite circles is rightly pronounced impossible by *de Bruyne*.

PISTIS SOPHIA. *Schmidt's* translation of the Pistis Sophia (1905) is out of print. The new edition, resting on further study of the Coptic text (ed. Schmidt, Copenhagen, Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1925), shows many improvements, but unfortunately, for reasons of economy, the critical apparatus had to be omitted. Schmidt stands by his opinion (as against Harris, *Burkitt*, and Mead), that the original of Pistis Sophia was in Greek, and he sets forth his reasons in a separate paper.

VALENTINIANS. *Casey* draws attention to the short apocalypse in the Panarion of Epiphanius, which must have been written by a Valentinian prophet of a later time. He regards the almost complete elimination of Christian influences as indicating rather a reaction against the Catholic view that Valentinianism was a Christian heresy, than as representing a primitive form of Valentinian theosophy (against Holl). In his second essay Casey states a problem: "It would be interesting to know whether the eastern or the Italian form of Valentinian teaching more closely agreed with the view of Valentinus himself." If *Foerster* is right, the answer would be in favor of the eastern school, for after a careful examination of the original sources and of the secondary reports of Irenaeus and Hippolytus he thinks he can show a development of the Valentinian gnosis from the strongly mythological conceptions of



Valentinus to the philosophical enlightenment of Heracleon and Ptolemy. *Voelker* questions this, but the present writer is impressed by Förster's discussion.

## VII. THE GREEK APOLOGISTS

GENERAL. *Carena, M.*, La critica della mitologia pagana negli Apologetici greci del II° secolo (Did n.s. 1, 1923, fasc. 2, 23-55; fasc. 3, 1-42). — *Fermi, Maria*, La morale degli apologeti (RR 2, 1926, 218-235). — *Giordani, I.*, La prima polemica cristiana, gli apologetici greci del II° secolo. Turin, Marietti, 1930. 160 pp. — *Lortz, Joseph*, Das Christentum als Monotheismus in den Apologien des zweiten Jahrhunderts (Festgabe für A. Ehrhard, 301-327). Bonn, Schroeder, 1922. — *Rivière, Jean*, Le démon dans l'économie rédemptrice d'après les apologistes et les premiers alexandrins (BLE 31, 1930, 5-20).

ARISTIDES. *\*De Zwaan, Jan*, A Gap in the Recently Discovered Greek of the Apology of Aristides (HThR 18, 1925, 112-114). — *\*Fermi, Maria*, L'apologia di Aristide e la lettera a Diogneto (RR 1, 1925, 541-545). — *\*Milne, H. J. M.*, A new Fragment of the Apology of Aristides (JThSt 25, 1923, 73-77). [*\*G. Krüger*, ThLZ 49, 1924, 47 f.; *A. d' Alès*, RQH 100, 1924, 354-349.] — *\*Modona, A. Neppi*, L'apologia di Aristide ed il nuovo frammento d'Ossirinco (Bilychnis 19, 1922, I, 317-327). — *\*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XV. Lond., Quaritch, 1922. 250 pp. [*R. H. Connolly*, JThSt 25, 1924, 151 f.]

ATHENAGORAS. *Pappalardo, S.*, Il monoteismo e la dottrina del Logos in Atenagora (Did n.s. 2, 1924, 11-40); La teoria degli angeli e dei demoni e la dottrina della provvidenza in Atenagora (*ibid.* 67-180).

DIOGNETUS. *\*Buonaiuti, Ernesto*, Lettera a Diogneto. Testo, traduzione, note (Scrittori cristiani antichi 1). Rome, 1921. 60 pp. — *\*Geffcken, Johannes*, Der Brief an Diognetos. Heidelberg, Winter 1928. viii, 27 pp. [*H. Koch*, ThLZ 53, 1928, 448 f.]

JUSTIN MARTYR. *\*Bardy, Gustave*, Saint Justin et la philosophie stoicienne (RSR 13, 1923, 491-510; 14, 1924, 33-45). — *\*Capelle, Bernard*, Le rescrit d'Hadrien et saint Justin (RBd 39, 1927, 365-368). — *Colson, F. H.*, Notes on Justin Martyr's Apology I. (JThSt 23, 1922, 161-171). [Textual criticisms.] — *Debouxhay, F.*, Note sur saint Justin (RBPH 8, 1929, 1193 ff.). — *\*Fonck, L.*, Die Echtheit von Justins Dialog gegen Trypho (Bibl 2, 1921, 342-347). — *\*Gansyniec, R.*, Die Apologie und der Libellus Justins des Märtyrers (OChr n.s. 10/11, 1923, 56-76). — *Goodenough, Erwin R.*, The Theology of Justin Martyr. Jena, Frommann, 1923. ix, 320 pp. [*A. Feder*, ThR 23, 1924, 209 f.; *R. P. Casey*, JThSt 25, 1924, 419-422; *H. Windisch*, ThLZ 49, 1924, 39 f.]; The Pseudo-Justinian "Oratio ad Graecos" (HThR 18, 1925, 187-200). [*A. v. Harnack*, ThLZ 50, 1925, 441 ff.] — *\*Keseling, P.*, Justins "Dialog gegen Trypho" (cap. 1-10) und Platons "Protagoras" (RhM n.s. 75, 1926, 223-229). — *Martindale, C. C.*,

St. Justin the Martyr (Catholic Thought and Thinkers). Lond., 1921. — \**Robinson, Joseph Armitage*, On a quotation from Justin Martyr in Irenaeus (JThSt 31, 1930, 374-378). — \**Schlaeger, G.*, Die Unechtheit des Dialogus cum Tryphone (NTT 13, 1924, 117-143).

MELITO OF SARDES. *Cavallera, F.*, A propos d'une enquête patristique sur l'assomption (BLE 27, 1926, 97-116). — *Jugie, M.*, La mort et l'assomption de la sainte vierge dans la tradition des cinq premiers siècles (ÉO 29, 1926, 5-20, 129-143, 281-307; 33, 1930, 271-275). — *Seymour, J. D.*, Irish Versions of the "Transitus Mariae" (JThSt 23, 1922, 36-43).

QUADRATUS. \**Harris, James Rendel*, The Apology of Quadratus (ExpT 8th ser. 21, 1921, 147-160); A New Christian Apology (Bull. John Rylands Library 7, 1923, 355-383); The Quest for Quadratus (*ibid.* 8, 1924, 384-397). [\**G. Krüger*, ThLZ 48, 1923, 431 f.] — \**Klostermann, Erich* and *Seeberg, Erich*, Die Apologie der heiligen Katharina (SKGG 1, 2). B., Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1924. iii, 57 pp. [\**G. Krüger*, ThLZ 49, 1924, 544 f.] — \**Robinson, Joseph Armitage*, The Passion of Saint Catherine and the Romance of Barlaam and Joasaph (JThSt 25, 1924, 246-253). TATIAN. *Baumstark, Anton*, Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron (OChr 3rd ser. 4, 1930, 1-14); Tatianismen im römischen Antiphonar (*ibid.*, 165-174). — *Bornstein, Walter*, Zu Tatians Λόγος πρὸς Ἑλληνας (ZKG 44, 1925, 62). — *Cataudella, Q.*, Note d'interpretazione sopra il testo di Tatiano (Did n. s. 8, 1929, 197-202). — *De Zwaan, J.*, Ad quosdam Tatiani adversus Graecos orationis locos (Mnem n. s. 48, 1920, 313-320). [Emendations.] — \**Harris, James Rendel*, Muhammed and the Diatessaron (ExpT 34, 1923, 377 f.); Some Diatessaron Readings from Sinai (ExpT 35, 1924, 296-298); Was the Diatessaron anti-Judaic? (HThR 18, 1925, 103-109). [It was.]; Tatian: Perfection according to the Saviour (Bull. John Rylands Library 8, 1924, 15-17). [*H. von Soden*, ZKG 43, 1924, 266.] — \**Plooij, D.*, A Primitive Text of the Diatessaron. The Liège Manuscript of a Mediaeval Dutch Translation. A Preliminary Study, with an Introductory Note by *James Rendel Harris*, Leyden, Sijthoff, 1923. 96 pp.; A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron. Leyden, Brill, 1925. 92 pp.; Die heutige Lage des Diatessaronproblems (OChr 3rd ser. 1, 1927, 201-222). [*D. Plooij*, ZNW 22, 1923, 1-16; *A. Pott*, PhW 43, 1923, 919-924; 46, 1925, 1078-1081; *H. J. Vogels*, ThR 22, 1923, 81-84; 25, 1926, 402-405; *H. Lietzmann*, ZNW 22, 1923, 150-153; *A. Jülicher*, JBL 43, 1924, 132-171; *F. C. Burkitt*, JThSt 25, 1924, 113-130; *M. Dibelius*, ThLZ 49, 1924, 174 f.; *F. C. Conybeare*, JThSt 25, 1924, 232-245; *D. de Bruyne*, RBdsup 1, nos. 141, 430.] — \**Preuschen, Erwin*, Tatiani Diatessaron, aus dem Arabischen übersetzt. Edited by *August Pott*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1926. x, 241 pp. [\**H. Duensing*, ThLZ 52, 1927, 8 f.] — *Zappalà, Maria*, Taziano e lo gnosticismo (RSFR 3, 1922, 307-338).

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH. \**Loofs, Friedrich*, Theophilus von Antiochien Adversus Marcionem und die anderen theologischen Quellen bei Irenaeus (TU 46, 2). L., Hinrichs, 1930 xi, 462 pp. [*G. Krüger*, ZKG 49, 1930, 50-54; *J. Lebon*, RHE 26, 1930, 675-679; *G. Ficker*, ThLZ 56, 1931, 51 f.; *H. von Campenhausen*, DLZ 51, 1930, 2257-2263; *J. Stiglmayr*, ThR 29, 1930, 290 f.]

GENERAL. *Lortz* refuses to consider the monotheism of the Apologists as an impoverished form of Christianity, but shows that it is a Christianized form of Hellenism, aiming at harmony between knowledge and faith, and that it had great positive importance, for the later development.

ARISTIDES. The British Museum papyrus 2486 contains a large piece of the original text of the Apology of Aristides (15, 6-16, 1). This is especially important because very little of this portion is covered by the text of the Barlaam-Joasaph romance. *Milne* has published the text and *Krüger* reproduces it. — *De Zwaan* finds an omission in the papyrus text between ἡ κτίσις and ὄντως οὖν οὐτοί, and supplies καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ καλὰ εὐπορεῖ. — *Modona*, while recognizing the importance of the new fragment, points out, quite rightly, that it does not solve the problems of the text.

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS. *Fermi* brings out the resemblances between Aristides and the Epistle to Diognetus, but does not believe that Aristides wrote the epistle. — *Buonaiuti* is inclined to consider Marcion the author of the epistle, the last thing to be thought of, in the opinion of the present writer. — *Geffcken* offers an excellent edition with useful hints for the interpretation of the text. He puts the date of the Epistle in the third century, but his arguments are not convincing.

JUSTIN MARTYR. *Bardy* separates the two Apologies, the second of which cannot have been composed before 161. In the second, the Stoic element is predominant. — While *Fonck* upholds the authenticity of the Dialogue with Trypho, in opposition to Preuschen's well-known hypothesis (ZNW 19, 1920), *Schlaeger* supports the view that it is not genuine, emphasizing the linguistic difference; he thinks, however, that the author knew the Apologies. — The chief value of *Goode-nough's* circumspect study lies in his careful analysis of the philosophical traditions in Justin, with special attention to the influence of Jewish Hellenism (Philo). Very hazardous, however, is his hypothesis that the Oratio ad Graecos is the address or epistle of a gentile convert to Hellenistic Judaism, to his former associates. He even thinks it is referred to by Paul in Galatians 4, 12 and 5, 20-21. Although the hypothesis can hardly maintain

itself (see *Harnack* in opposition), yet the kinship with the passage in Galatians is of interest. — *Capelle* points out that the sentence prefixed by Justin to Hadrian's rescript shows plainly its conformity with Justin's vocabulary. Hence the rescript is not an interpolation, but surely genuine. It is strange that no scholar had ever hit upon this simple but convincing proof. — *Robinson* argues that Eusebius (H. E. iv, 18, 9) was right in citing as Justin's words no more than he does; what follows in the text of Irenaeus (adv. haer. iv, 11, 2) is the amplification and comment of the bishop himself. — According to *Gansyniec*, the second Apology is made up of two parts, the memorial to the emperor (*libellus*), and the Apology proper. — *Keseling*, from a close comparison of the texts, argues that in the introduction to the Dialogue, Justin was imitating the Protagoras of Plato, which he had personally read.

QUADRATUS. *Harris's* surprising hypothesis that the Acts of Saint Catherine of Sinai has interwoven in it an early Christian apology, namely that of Quadratus, was not destined for a long life. *Robinson*, and still more decidedly *Klostermann* and *Seeberg*, have shown that Catherine's speech before the emperor, which is the portion in question, cannot have been written before the seventh century. *Harris's* attempt at a rejoinder is unsuccessful. Details are to be found in *Krüger*.

TATIAN. Much has been written about *Plooij's* discovery, in the University Library at Liège, of a manuscript (Cod. 437) containing a Flemish translation of a Latin gospel harmony. The text shows clearly the use of the pre-vulgate version. From this, *Plooij* rightly infers great antiquity for the Latin exemplar of the Flemish text, but critics have pointed out that the text merely shows that the Latin exemplar was written before the Vulgate became generally accepted. *Plooij* is of the opinion that his text goes back to Tatian's Diatessaron, which would make the Codex Leodiensis a very important witness for this work, especially if, as *Plooij* declares, its exemplar was derived directly from the Syriac text. This somewhat fantastic opinion has not met with much favor, although the value of the discovery in itself, emphasized in all the reviews, ought not to be minimized. *Vogels*, to be sure, is almost alone in agreeing with



Plooij as to the derivation from Tatian. *Burkitt's* review is especially worthy of attention. — *Preuschen* had been at work on an edition of the Arabic Diatessaron, and after his death in 1920 *Pott* undertook to edit it. He too died (1926) without having been able to finish the task. The first volume, which he had completed, gives a German translation of the Arabic text, the accuracy of which is vouched for by so competent an authority as *Duensing*. In assuming that Tatian wrote in Greek, and that the text he used was Roman, *Duensing* agrees with *Pott*, but not in his estimate of the value of that text. — *Harris* is of the opinion that the Lord's Prayer came to the Mohammedans from the Diatessaron. He also thinks he recognizes, in a Syriac document, the original of the small tract ascribed to Tatian, *περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καταρτισμοῦ*.

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH. A book by *Loofs* is always hard reading, and this is especially true of this last work, which he was revising at the time of his death (Jan. 13, 1928). It is difficult to do justice in mere review to the wealth of its contents. From earlier writings we know how much weight *Loofs* laid on the difference between the Logos-christology of the Apologists and a Pneuma-christology. By the latter is meant that form of theological thought according to which Christ, in his human manifestation, was the personal revealer of God and the inaugurator of a new humanity, because the spirit of God dwelt in him. This Spirit-christology was rooted in tradition of primitive antiquity, and can be traced far back into the early Christian writers. Since the end of the second century (particularly in and after Tertullian) it was contaminated with the Logos-christology pertaining to the philosophical-theological tradition. These general ideas underlie both the literary criticism in *Loofs's* book and the section relating to the history of doctrine. The gist of the literary criticism is that the influence of early sources on Irenaeus was so great that his own contribution appears much reduced. Chief among these sources stands the lost writing of Theophilus of Antioch against Marcion. Another is the school-lectures of the Asia Minor presbyters, to whom Irenaeus repeatedly appeals. The *De resurrectione*, commonly ascribed to Justin, has exerted

some influence. Finally, the influence of Papias and Justin must be included. If these literary considerations are brought into relation with what is explained above regarding Loofs's ideas on the history of doctrine, the conclusion is that the Asia Minor source shows a close connection with the Spirit-christology element, while the Theophilus-source points in a different direction. In this the underlying conception is of an eternal Triad (God, his Logos, and his Sophia, the last being taken as equivalent to the Holy Ghost), with a strong monotheistic color to the trinitarian idea. This idea, so far as we know, is elsewhere found only in Paul of Samosata (pp. 253 f., *below*) and in Eustathius, that is, among the Antiochians. With it is connected a Dyo-prosopia christology, which, like that of Paul, is distinguished by its idea of two persons and by the absence of the doctrine of two natures from the later pluralistic Antiochian christology of Diodorus and his followers. For those who are proficient in the niceties of the history of doctrine, these conclusions are revolutionary, and their validity will have to be tested by further investigations. *Robinson* (p. 206, *above*, Justin) calls Loofs's book "a treasure-house of information to the student of Irenaeus," but he has little sympathy for its method and is profoundly dissatisfied with the depreciation of Irenaeus resulting from Loofs's thesis. (See p. 248, *below*, *Bonwetsch*.)

## VIII. THE CHURCH FATHERS

### A. GREEK AND ORIENTAL

#### (a) *Texts*

ACTS OF COUNCILS. \*Acta conciliorum Oecumenicorum iussu atque mandato societatis scientiarum Argentoratensis edidit *Eduardus Schwartz*. Tomus I, Vol. I: Concilium universale Ephesenum. B. and L., De Gruyter, 1927-1930. Eight fascicules: (1) xxvi, 128 pp.; (2) vii, 110 pp.; (3) ii, 104 pp.; (4) xxviii, 70.; (5) 142 pp.; (6) vi, 169 pp.; (7) xi, 180 pp.; (8) 67 pp. Vol. II: Collectio Veronensis. 1925-26. xii, 128 pp. Vol. III: Collectionis Casinensis sive Synodici a Rustico Diacono compositi pars prior. 1929. xxi, 255 pp. Vol. IV: Collectionis casinensis pars altera. 1922-23. 245 pp. Vol. V: Pars I, Collectio Palatina sive qui fertur Marius Mercator, 1924-25; Pars II, Cyrilli Epistula translata a Dionysio Exiguo; Collectio Sighardiana ex collectione Quesneliana; Collectio Winteriana; Indices. 1924-26. 416 pp. [*H. V. Soden*, ZKG 42, 1923, 105 ff.; *H. Koch*, ThLZ 48,

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ACTS OF COUNCILS. The great enterprise of the Strasburg Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft has not been interrupted by the troubles attendant on the war, although this Alsatian university has been transferred to French administration. In my former survey (HThR 14, 1921, 357 ff.) I was able to greet the appearance of the Acts of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553). Since then *Schwartz*, the indefatigable editor, has been working on the Council of Ephesus. The vastness of his accomplishment is revealed by the detailed statements of my bibliography. The Greek Acts are completed and the greater part of the Latin translations has been published. Critics are agreed that it is an extraordinary achievement, the more admirable because essentially the work of a single scholar, not aided, as so many of his predecessors and contemporaries have been, by the collective labors of the members of an order. Of the wealth of separate collections I can give no idea, but I would expressly mention the forty letters of Isidore of Pelusium in the *Collectio Casinensis*, which were published by René Aigrain in 1911 but have attracted little attention. The wealth of letters, sermons, and other personal productions of the chief personages of the Council is immense, and a future Hefele will find here a superabundance of material for a critical history of all ecclesiastical councils. Schwartz has himself, in a veritable little *Kabinettstück*, drawn engaging pictures of the play of policy of Pulcheria and Marcion, and of that charming episode in the history of the Council of Ephesus where a monk named Victor figured as an accomplice of Cyril. Long past seventy as he is, it is a question whether he will be able to complete the editing of the Acts of Chalcedon.<sup>6</sup> That he has begun to make

<sup>6</sup> One volume of these Acts has already appeared: Acta- - - - - Tomus II. Concilium Chalcedonense. Vol. IV: Leonis Papae I epistularum collectiones. 1932. xlvii, 156 pp. [*H. Koch*, ThLZ 57, 1932, 294 ff.; *F. Diekamp*, ThR 31, 1932, 315 ff.] In press is Vol. II, Part 1: *Collectio Novariensis de re Eutythis*.



deep soundings is shown by the papers already published, which include the edition of the Acts from Codex Vaticanus 1431. This collection was put together in the late eighties of the fifth century, in the entourage of the Alexandrian patriarch Peter Mongus, to create sentiment in favor of Zeno's Henoticon and against the Synod of Chalcedon. The principal piece in it is an hitherto unpublished florilegium of dicta (χρήσεις) from the works of the Fathers, from Cyril to Timotheus Aelurus.

**APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM.** Under this heading, to be taken broadly, *Hermann* and *Krüger* have published the fruits of *Bousset's* searching investigations. These are properly mentioned here because a large part of their importance lies in the minutely detailed and at the same time well organized presentation of the extremely complicated textual tradition and in the laborious tables and indices of the various forms of the text. Nor is this all. Bousset used the *Apophthegmata Patrum* as an example of oral tradition in general and of the process by which it acquires fixed literary form. And in fact these Sayings of monks of the Sketic desert, originating among unlettered Coptic peasants, collected and given form by Greeks, afford an excellent examples from which inferences even as to the gospel tradition can be drawn. Bousset's portrayal of the 'spiritual' piety of these desert saints is masterly. The portions of the book which deal with Pachomius and Evagrius Ponticus will be discussed *below* (pp. 231, 248). — *Peeters* contributes important additions to the Syriac, Georgian, Coptic and Armenian recensions. — *Hermann* communicates notes from the text of some fragments of the *Apophthegmata* preserved in a manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century (original in Lund, photographic reproduction in the New Testament Seminar in Berlin), but they are too brief to be assigned to a definite position in the textual tradition. — *Wilmart* publishes thirty-six new Sayings scattered through the fifth and sixth books of the Latin *Apophthegmata*. The collection seems to have been made by a Roman priest about the middle of the sixth century.

**ARETHAS.** From Codex 315 of the Synodal Library at Moscow, *Compennass* publishes two discourses on the Psalms by

Arethas. They are not exegetical treatises like his commentary on the Apocalypse, but sermons for the inmates of a monastery. Arethas shows himself here a master of allegory.

ARIANS. Among *Bardy's* numerous projects, one of the most valuable is the sifting of the literary remains of the Arians, which have survived only in a fragmentary condition. It is now seen to be an unsettled question, how far Arian material has been worked over in a monothelite interest, as *Grümel* has proved in his work on the fragments of Aëtius in the *Doctrina Patrum* and in Anastasius of Sinai, and as Bardy himself admits to have taken place with the fragments of Arius preserved by Gelasius and Anastasius. The analogous case of Paul of Samosata's *Λόγοι πρὸς Σαβῖνον* (*below*, p. 253) should be noted here. — From *Draguet's* article we may see how even convincing and almost universally accepted critical hypotheses can dissolve into nothing. Usener thought he had proved that a commentary on Job ascribed to Origen was a work of Julian of Halicarnassus, but Draguet shows that it was written by an Arian, most probably in the fourth century, and thus is a source not to be neglected for our scanty knowledge of early Arian theology.

ATHANASIUS. The writings of Athanasius are to-day receiving more attention from the philological side than in the past.<sup>7</sup> The Benedictine edition, on which or its reprint in Migne we are still dependent, does not meet the requirements of modern criticism. *Lebon*, in an article which has attracted much attention, has shown that for a better text, not only must the Greek tradition be systematically re-examined, but especially the Syriac and Armenian versions must be used. To his labors and those of *Lake* and *Casey*, we are chiefly indebted for the light now beginning to shine in the darkness that has hitherto hung over the manuscript tradition. So far, the text of *Contra gentes* and *De incarnatione verbi* has been the object of this

<sup>7</sup> In 1920, P. Guido Müller, S. J., in Feldkirch, sent out the prospectus of an *Index Athanasianus* which he had planned and for which he had made preliminary studies (180,000 slips). Nothing more had been heard of it since, but on Dec. 2, 1931 he wrote me that he was busy with the work and had completed the index from A to Δ. *Deus det profectum*, say I with him. But, in view of the work now beginning on the manuscripts, it is a question whether this is the right time for finishing the index.

renewed study. A manuscript discovered in Athens by the two last-named scholars contains seventeen of Athanasius's writings, and in many places in these two, the text varies from that of the *vulgate*; while Lebon reports a manuscript at Athos (Dochiariu 78) in which the text agrees with that of the Athens MS. The same is true of the Catena in Cod. plut. IV. 23 of the Laurentian Library at Florence, which *Schwartz* has investigated. The solution of this problem of textual criticism will be made known, we may hope, by the edition which Lebon is preparing for the Louvain Speculum Sacrum. — *Schwartz* has also considered the question of the date at which the *De incarnatione verbi* was included in the collected writings of Athanasius. He does not favor an early date, but rather the years of the exile at Trèves, 335-337. He has also devoted special attention to the so-called *Sermo maior de fide*, which he thinks is indubitably not genuine, in spite of Theodoret's remarkable testimony. He suggests Eustathius of Antioch as the author. *Lebon's* review is important in that he communicates the passages relating to the *Sermo* in Severus of Antioch, *Contra grammaticum* (see *below*, p. 233). — *Lake and Casey*, using the *De virginitate* as illustration, show how unfruitful even such excellent studies as von der Goltz's edition (1905) must remain until the manuscript material has been completely utilized. The Syriac text of a *Λόγος περὶ παρθενίας* published by Lebon (1928) is not identical with the *De virginitate*. — *Van Lantschoot* discusses an unpublished ascetic letter ostensibly by Athanasius. — *Jerphanion* tells the history of the *Epistula ad monachos* (Migne 26, 1185) in the Greek original and the Latin translation, with the use of the fragments of an inscription found by American excavators in Upper Egypt and published in "The Monastery of Epiphanius" (N. Y., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927). — *Lefort* has found, in a Coptic manuscript of ascetic writings from the White Monastery (now Cod. Par. Bibl. Nat. Copt. 131), the beginning of the so-called First Pseudo-clementine Epistle, here attributed to Athanasius and, he thinks, rightly. *Wagemann* rejects this attribution, with good reason. — *Deissmann* gives an English translation of the letter claiming to be from Athanasius to Paphnutius,

published from the Coptic by H. I. Bell in his "Jews and Christians in Egypt" (London, 1924).

BASIL THE GREAT. *Bardy* strengthens the argument already advanced by Holl against earlier critics, in favor of the genuineness of the homily *Adversus calumniatores de Sancta Trinitate* (Migne 31, 1487-1496). — No attempt has been made, since the work of the Benedictines, to study the manuscript tradition of Saint Basil's correspondence, one of the most important sources of our knowledge of Basil. *Bessières* undertakes to supply this need by a detailed investigation, published since his death by C. H. Turner, who in an introduction briefly summarizes Bessières's laborious work.

CHRYSOSTOM. Many of the homilies of Chrysostom are preserved in a double tradition. The critics generally think of repetition by the preacher himself, but *Baur* shows in the case of several of the homilies on Genesis that it is more natural to assume two recensions of sermons which were themselves delivered only once.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. In the appendix of the facsimile edition of the Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection, by H. A. Sanders and C. Schmidt (N. Y., Macmillan, 1927), eighteen papyrus fragments of an "unknown work" are given, which *Thackeray* would assign to a lost writing of Clement.

DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM. *Connolly* publishes an English translation of the Syriac Didascalia on the basis of the four extant manuscripts, which he discusses in detail in the introduction. The fragments of the Latin translation in Codex Veronensis (Hauler 1900) are printed opposite.

DIODORUS OF TARSUS. *Mariès* gives a brief account of the tradition of the commentary on the Psalms which he discovered some time ago. He mentions not less than eighty-one manuscripts, but he does not yet publish the text. *Lebon* is right in saying that Mariès, who is by far the most competent scholar on this subject, ought not to delay the edition longer, even though his critical studies are not absolutely complete.

DIOSCORUS. The Bohairic fragment published by *Hatch* was probably part of a Life of Dioscorus, composed by one of his



followers or partisans, soon after the death of Dioscorus or in the first decades of the sixth century.

EPHRAËM SYRUS. The Armenian translation of the commentary on Acts published by *Akinian* was probably made near the beginning of the fifth century. The work is important, not for exegesis but because it is based on a form of the Western text. A translation from the Armenian into Latin, by F. C. Conybeare, is contained in Jackson and Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. III, *The Text of Acts*, pp. 380-453. — The first volume of Ephraëm's Sermons, published by *Mitchell* in 1912, contains with an English translation the five treatises against heresies addressed to a certain Hypatius. The second volume, brought out by *Bevan* and *Burkitt* after Mitchell's death, comprises the tract entitled *Domnus*, directed against Bardaisan, three tracts against Marcion, a *Mêmra* against Bardaisan, and two tracts, one *Against Virginity* and one *Against Mani*.

EPIPHANIUS. The first part of *Holl's* masterly edition of Epiphanius was mentioned in this Review for 1921 (pp. 308 f.). He completed the second part himself, but was cut off by death (1926) while working on the third. His work, as all critics agree, has been not only to produce a readable text, as close to the original as his acuteness could make it, but also to furnish a brief but thorough commentary. In the third volume, the text in full and the commentary as far as the Manichaeans (*haer.* 66) are his work. *Lietzmann* has completed it and also verified the critical apparatus, thus giving every possible assurance that the edition is trustworthy. The work is to be completed by a fourth volume, containing indices. — The Greek text of the letter of Epiphanius to John of Jerusalem, which *Maas* published for the first time, is found in the still unprinted work of Nicephorus against the Iconoclastic Council of 875. Jerome's translation is given for comparison.

EUSEBIUS. The two editions of the Chronicle, by *Fotheringham* and by *Helm*, the first volume of the latter having appeared in 1913, both have merits of their own. Fotheringham furnishes a readable text with the variant readings noted in the apparatus, while Helm, in addition, has laboriously assembled

the testimonia, so that we can follow in detail the textual history of the Chronicle, both for the original and for Jerome's Latin version. Helm's edition is in mimeographed handwriting, for reasons of economy. With all due recognition of this calligraphic achievement, nevertheless, Fotheringham's edition is more convenient to use, especially because it is comprised in a single volume. The critical problems involved in the due arrangement of the notices in the Chronicle are treated by *Helm* in several articles. His controversy with *Caspar* over some of these matters is not to be neglected, but unfortunately it is not free from personalities on both sides.

GREGORY OF NYSSA. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (†1931) had devoted a considerable sum of money presented to him on his seventieth birthday to the preparation of a critical edition of the works of Gregory, and the first part of this edition is now before us. *Jaeger* has for the first time succeeded in cutting a path through the intricacies of the tradition, a difficult task, since the extant manuscripts go back only to the tenth century. This leaves the history of the text from the fourth to the ninth century to be determined. Though it has not yet been possible to bring this history to completion, *Jaeger's* painstaking and skillful work has made this edition as nearly perfect as is possible at the present time. *Pasquali* (formerly privatdocent at Göttingen, now professor in Florence) has had difficulties to surmount also, for in the manuscripts the same piece appears now among the letters, now among the theological treatises. His results and the text he has established are declared excellent by all critics. *Przychowski's* review is noteworthy. — *Hansmann's* edition of a hitherto unknown commentary on the Gospel of John is noticed under this head because the name of the author, which had been erased from the manuscript, was replaced by that of Gregory of Nyssa by a later reader who mistook the piece for Gregory's *Θεογνωσία*. In reality it is a work of polemic exegesis by a writer of the circle of Theodore, Abbot of Studium, and belongs to the Iconoclastic era, more specifically to the so-called Moichianic conflict, the dissension in the church over the *μοιχεία* of the emperor Constantine VI. It is contained in Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 39605, where *Bell*

discovered it. Hansmann, a young German scholar, undertook to edit it, with *Jaeger*, whose article should be consulted, as adviser. With admirably methodical investigations he has cleared up so far as is possible all questions relating to the document and has produced a model edition. The work itself, by an unknown writer, is very important for the history of the church and of civilization. — For her edition of Gregory's encomium on his brother Saint Basil, Sister *James Aloysius Stein* has collated Paris and Vatican manuscripts but has not been able to make a competent sifting of the readings. *Maas* says that anyone with a tolerable knowledge of Greek could improve her text in some fifty places.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS. The *Vita*, according to *Telfer*, is the work of an anonymous writer and imitated from Gregory of Nyssa's panegyric. Rufinus is used and apparently also the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.

HIPPOLYTUS. The character of the transmission of Hippolytus's Chronicle occasions peculiar difficulties to the editor. The work is not preserved in the original, but in several derived forms, of which the Latin recension ("Barbarus Scaligeri") is most important. *Bauer* has shown that the Armenian version also has value. What were formerly supposed to be additions by the Latin translator are shown by the Armenian to have been part of the original Greek. *Mras* describes Bauer's work as an amazing achievement of ability and industry. — *Bannier* prints again with restorations a fragment of an Oxyrynchus papyrus of the Chronicle of Hippolytus, previously published by D. Serruys in RPh 38, 1914, 27 ff.

IRENÆUS. *Merk* investigates the value for textual criticism of the Armenian translation of Irenaeus *Adversus haereses* published by Ter-Minassiantz (TU, 1910). It appears that the Armenian version follows the original more closely than does the Latin.

JOHN OF EPHESUS. Among the most delightful sources for the history of the religious life in the sixth century are the *Lives of Saints* by John of Ephesus. For this new edition *Brooks* has collated all the manuscripts and added to the textual evidence Cod. Par. Bibl. Nat. Syr. 234. He gives in his introduc-

tion important new information about John based on the leading work on the subject, that of A. Dyakanoff (St. Petersburg, 1908), in Russian. Brooks agrees with Dyakanoff on most questions, especially in respect to chronology.

LEONTIUS OF BYZANTIUM. *Devreesse* says, "I have tried to reconstruct the exact form of the Florilegium [of Leontius] noting also the origin of the pieces it contains and the ancient use of them, and, for some of them, their subsequent history."

MACARIUS. The first part of the mystical tract discussed by *Villecourt* is placed among the works of Gregory of Nyssa (De instituto christiano; MSG 46, 287-306), the second part among the letters of Macarius (MSG 34, 409-442). The literary milieu is that of the Spiritual Homilies, but Macarius is not the author. — *Wilmart* shows that the letter Signorum copia (MSG lat. 34, 441-444) is a later cento from Nilus and Ephraëm.

MARCUS DIACONUS. The new edition by *Grégoire* and *Kugener* of the Vita Porphyrii, an instructive document for the history of civilization and of religion, is pronounced by the critics a great advance over the edition, good in itself, prepared by Usener's pupils and included in the Teubner series (1895), because it rests on a better manuscript tradition. Even more importance attaches to it because the observations, partly of the editors, partly of the critics, have destroyed the naïve sense of security with which this attractive presentation was regarded as a contemporary narrative. It is now pointed out that the proëmium of the Vita and the Historia religiosa of Theodoret of Cyrus are so closely related that a direct borrowing is the only explanation. *Zellinger* thinks that Theodoret was the borrower; *Kugener* and *Grégoire* are of the opposite opinion, and would bring the Vita, at least in the form in which we have it, down to the beginning of the seventh century. *Nau* calls attention to a Paris manuscript, not used in this edition, which lacks these contacts with Theodoret. He thinks this shows that the Life was written soon after the death of Porphyry (420), and subsequently more than once revised and enlarged until it took on its present form.

NARSAI. Examination of the tradition has confirmed *Burkitt* in his conviction that the Homily on the mysteries (Min-



gana No. 17), published by Connolly (TSt, 1909) is really a work of Narsai, but delivered at a time when the catachumenate was still a living institution.

NESTORIUS. Of the important *Apologia* which Nestorius wrote under the title Πραγματεία Ἡρακλείδου, in his Egyptian exile and not long before his death (probably in 451), we possess a Syriac translation, which Bedjan published in 1910 and Nau translated into French in the same year. The English translation by *Driver* and *Hodgson* keeps more closely to the Syriac, and hence is not so easy to understand as Nau's freer rendering. The large amount of labor bestowed on the notes does not make so much advance upon Nau's results as could be desired. Both *Loofs* and *Lebon*, in their detailed reviews, emphasize the need of first determining how much of the *Liber Heraclidis* comes from Nestorius and how much from the Syriac adapter, before it can be used as the valuable historical source which it undoubtedly is. *Loofs* finds many details to criticize. — *Lebon* gives those fragments from Nestorius found in the *Contra grammaticum* of Severus of Antioch (see *below*, p. 233) which had not already been published in *Loofs's Nestoriana* (1905). For the *Homilies* a Latin translation is added. — *Schwartz* publishes twelve anathemas (Latin, from Cod. Berol. 78 and Cod. Palat. 234) of Nestorius against Cyril. They are superior to those previously known in that they answer Cyril's anathemas point by point. But they are probably not the work of Nestorius himself but of a Nestorian of a later epoch. — *Abramowski* brings into the critical discussion of the "tragedy" of Nestorius, the sixth-century history of the Nestorian church by Bashad-beshabba (= Kyriakos; ed. F. Nau, PO 9, 5, 493 ff.), which contains some passages not elsewhere preserved.

OECUMENIUS. The commentary on the Apocalypse by Oecumenius, bishop of Tricca (beginning of the seventh century), is important for the light it throws on the development of the Christian conception of history, in the piety of the eastern church. Oecumenius endeavors to work out as clearly as possible a philosophy of history from the multitudinous visions and signs of the Apocalypse. His commentary deserves a critical edition. With all respect for *Hoskier*, it must be ob-

served that he would have done well to consult the foremost authority on the subject, Professor Diekamp of Münster, before printing his book. It would not then have been necessary for the critics (see *Heseler*) to point out not only misreadings, wrong expansions, and other oversights, but also his failure to take into consideration such important contemporary documents as the commentary of Arethas of Caesarea and the *σύνοψις σχολαστική* printed in Cramer's *Catenae*. It is of no use nowadays to prepare such editions without international co-operation.

ORIGEN. The first volume of *Baehrens's* edition of the Homilies on the Old Testament was noticed in this Review in 1921 (p. 311). Subsequent volumes are constructed on the same principles of textual criticism, and reviewers are agreed that the editor has chosen the right method and has given us at least a text which answers all requirements. Apparatus and indices are also universally praised. — The same is true of the work of *Rauer*, who edited the thirty-nine Homilies on Luke in Jerome's translation, together with the remains of the Greek text of the Homilies and of the Commentary on Luke. In the Homilies, the Latin version is given on the left, and on the right, the appropriate Greek fragments, some of which have no Latin equivalent. There are added eighty-eight certain fragments and twenty-four doubtful ones from the commentary. *Koch* and *Koetschau*, whose expert opinions on editions of Origen always deserve attention, make some minor criticisms while expressing warm appreciation of the work. — The papyrus of the fourth or possibly even of the third century, found at Hermopolis and now at Giessen, provides the first evidence that the works of Origen were not unknown to the Christians of Middle and Upper Egypt. It contains a considerable fragment, presumably part of a homily. *Glaue's* edition is a model. — The partially preserved ninth Homily on Isaiah is shown by *Baehrens* to be a forgery, probably of the sixth century. We should now therefore count only eight homilies on Isaiah. — *Bardy* traces the history of the Greek text of *Περὶ ἀρχῶν* as far as the Fifth Council (553) and adds a detailed estimate of the value of the versions of Rufinus and Jerome. Rufinus comes off a good deal better than

is commonly said, and better than Bardy himself, to judge from his later statements (see RHE 25, 1929, 285), is quite ready to maintain. *Koetschau* does not agree with Bardy on this point, but recognizes the value of the investigation. The fact remains that Bardy has set about the task and carried it through with a sure method. — *Reitzenstein* shows that the Oxyrhynchus papyrus 1601, which he publishes anew, is from a source of Jerome's Commentary on Joel and that this source is Origen. — *Bauernfeind* has studied the text of the Epistle to the Romans in the Athos codex discovered by von der Goltz, in which a colophon states that the text of Romans is made up from the lemmata of Origen's commentary on that epistle. The commentary being no longer extant, it is obvious that the codex would be of great value if the scribe's statement could be verified. *Bauernfeind* thinks he can do this, but his critics have their doubts. All recognize, however, the value of his investigation.<sup>8</sup>

PACHOMIUS. The edition by *Albers* is unfortunately so disfigured with oversights and misprints that great caution is needed in using it.<sup>9</sup> The examination undertaken by *Bousset* of the tradition of the Vita Pachomii confirms, in essentials, the results of Ladeuze (*Étude sur le cénobitisme pachomien*, 1898), although somewhat greater importance is assigned to the Coptic and Arabic forms. — *Lefort* publishes some new fragments of the Coptic text of the Rule, with Jerome's translation according to the Munich Codex 28118. His edition of the Bohairic Life of Pachomius replaces the unsatisfactory first edition of Amélineau (1899). His aim has been to reproduce the text exactly as it stands in the Vatican manuscript. — *Hengstenberg* examines the letters of Theophilus of Alexandria to Horsiesi and the Pachomian monks in Pbau, published by Crum and Ehrhard (see this Review, 1921, p. 368 f.). He does

<sup>8</sup> A complete collation of the text and marginal material (so far as it can be read) of von der Goltz's codex, with a discussion by Kirsopp Lake and Silva New, has recently (1932) been published as Volume XVII of the Harvard Theological Studies.

<sup>9</sup> Albers's edition is now completely superseded by *Amand Boon*, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et Épîtres de S. Pachôme. Épître de S. Théodore et "Liber" d'Orsiesius. Texte latin de S. Jérôme* (Bibliothèque de la RHE 7). Louvain, 1932. [*H. Koch*, ThLZ 58, 1932, 391-394; *Ph. Oppenheim*, ThR 31, 1932, 368 f.]

not agree with Ehrhard in thinking the letter to Horsiessi genuine.

PALLADIUS. Although *Coleman-Norton* has not been able to add much to the material on which the first edition by Bigot (1686) and the later edition of Montfaucon rest, his collation has value, for it gives us for the first time the traditional text in a trustworthy form.—*Bousset* reinforces his thesis (NGWG, 1917; see HThR, 1921, p. 372) that the compiler of the *Historia Lausiaca* made a mechanical use of the literature at his disposal, but mingled with it his own recollections. — *Butler* discusses what has been written since his publication of the *Historia* in 1904.

PAUL OF SAMOSATA. Codices Vaticanus 1431 and Coisl. 299 contain three letters, two from Dionysius of Alexandria to and against Paul, and one to Paul from Bishop Hymenaeus and his fellow bishops. *Schwartz* gives a critical edition, greatly improving the text of the first one (De Torres, 1608). He assigns all three letters to the beginning of the christological conflicts. Whether he is right with regard to the Hymenaeus letter I doubt, as do the other reviewers (see *below*, p. 253, *Bardy* and *Loofs*).

PHILOPONUS. *Sanda's* edition of the monophysite writings of the Alexandrian grammarian Philoponus gives for the first time the complete text of his chief work, *Διαιρήτης* ('The Arbitrator'), which is preserved only in Syriac.

PHILOXENUS. The three letters of Philoxenus published by *Lebon* make a valuable contribution to the history of the religious dissensions in the Christian Orient at the beginning of the sixth century. With the Syriac text a Latin translation is given.

PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE. *Moss* uses Cod. Vat. Syr. 368 to fill a gap in Cod. Mus. Brit. Orient. 8606, containing the Syriac text of the Homily on the Nativity.

ROMANUS. Since Krumbacher's fine edition of the *Kontakia* appeared (1898-1903), no important work on the great hymn writer of the Greek Church has been published, so that *Cammelli's* convenient edition of the hymns is welcome. It gives the text of the eight *Kontakia*, with a select apparatus and an



Italian translation, short prefaces to the several pieces, and a general introduction.

SEVERIAN OF GABALA. *Zellinger* has followed his edition of Severian's Homily on Genesis with investigations of the other remains of the eloquent bishop. These are either single sermons or separate portions of longer cycles, preserved partly in Greek and printed among the works of Chrysostom, partly in oriental languages (Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic). A number of homilies hitherto disputed *Zellinger* claims as genuine, apparently with good reason, although so competent a critic as *Draguet* expresses himself on the point with much reserve. — That gleanings are still possible is shown by *Martin*, who has recognized yet another sermon attributed to Chrysostom, *De paenitentia* (MSG 49, 323-336), as belonging to Severian. Conversely it appears that one oration which in the Coptic tradition (Cod. Vat. 68)<sup>10</sup> is assigned to Severian and is a paraphrase of MSG 60, 765-768 does not belong to him. — *Durks* proves effectively that the oration published by Jordan (TU 36, 1913) from the Armenian and ascribed by the tradition to Irenaeus comes from Severian.

SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH. Since the present writer's comprehensive article on the celebrated bishop was written (1906) for the *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, our knowledge of his remains preserved in Latin has been much increased. The homilies and letters published in the *Patrologia Orientalia* in Syriac and French or English by various scholars (*Brière*, *Brooks*, *Kugener*, *Triffaux*) contain a store of important material which is far from being exhausted as a source for the history of the dogmatic conflicts at the beginning of the sixth century. We owe to *Nau's* keen eye the discovery of some fragments also of the Greek originals of the homilies; while *Draguet* has published in Syriac and French the valuable pastoral letter which Severus sent from Egypt about 530 to his adherents in Mesopotamia. The bitter polemic against Julian of Halicarnassus is noteworthy. — To *Lebon* and *Sanda* we owe first editions of two important works of Severus (*Contra impium grammaticum* and *Philaethes*), now made acces-

<sup>10</sup> Ed. H. de Vis, *Homélie Coptes*, 1, 198-204. Copenhagen, 1922.

sible to everyone by the accompanying Latin translations. *Diekamp's* instructive review is an aid to the understanding of them. — *Martin* states that Mai was mistaken in attributing the scholia which he published in *Classici Auctores* (X, 1838, 457–470) to a commentary on Acts by Severus. Most of them are found also in Cramer.

THE STYLITES. *Delehaye* offers critical editions of the *Vitae* of the most celebrated of the Stylites, namely, the elder and the younger Symeon, Daniel, Alypius, and Lucas, and draws inferences as to the mode of life of these strange pillar-saints (see below, p. 237, *Baynes*).

THEODORET OF CYRUS. *Schwartz* confirms what was shown in 1888 by Ehrhard, that the treatise *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἐνανθρωπήσεως* transmitted under the name of Cyril of Alexandria is really the work of Theodoret. — *Lebon*, through his study of Severus is able to treat the question more broadly, including the treatise *Περὶ τριάδος*. He relies chiefly on Chapter 5 of Book III of Severus *Contra grammaticum*. This leads to another important result, namely, that the pseudo-justinian *Ἐκθεσις τῆς ὁρθῆς πίστεως*, long suspected of belonging to the Antiochian school, proves to be the work of Theodoret.

THEOGNIUS. *De Bruyne* publishes a new edition of No. 16 of the nineteen Bobbio Arian fragments (MSG 13, 593 ff.). By the illuminating correction of the corrupt text, *Bithenus episcopus et cognius*, to read, *Bithynius episcopus Theognius*, he is able to identify two epistolary fragments as written by Theognius.

TITUS OF BOSTRA. From an examination of the manuscripts, *Casey* elucidates the complicated history of the anti-manichaean writings of Titus and Serapion of Thmuis. With the evidence now in hand, the task of editing the treatises is a relatively simple one.

ZACHARIAS RHETOR. Land's first edition of the *Historia miscellanea* is antiquated. *Brooks*, for a new edition, has collated the manuscripts carefully, and in particular has used for comparison the Chronicle of Michael Syrus, who drew long passages from the *Historia* of Zacharias.

(b) *Life, Writings, and Doctrine*

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APOLLINARISM. *Raven's* book shows how intimately the problems of the christology of the early church are still a part of the life of Anglican theologians. The author explains in the preface that he was originally an Apollinarist, but in the course of his work had come to recognize that Apollinarism, that is, belief in the impersonal humanity of Our Lord, was untenable, and that Paul of Samosata had behind him a genuine historical tradition, to which in the reconstruction of doctrine we must return. He is of the opinion that his conclusions will be regarded by orthodox critics as dictated by 'modernist' prejudice. The present writer is convinced that neither orthodox nor modernist considerations should enter into the investigation of purely historical phenomena. But in justice to the author it should be said that in the main he observes this principle himself and that his book is a real contribution to our knowledge of the subject. After a survey of the development of christology from Justin to Apollinaris, he writes of Apollinaris himself in two chapters (Life and Work, Christology) and then of his orthodox critics, closing with an account of the christology of the Antiochians, which he regards as the correct reply to Apollinaris. He has a good knowledge of the sources and the literature of the subject (especially Lietzmann's important book of 1904). That his position, nevertheless, leaves many points open to question, is apparent from the reviews cited above.

ATHANASIUS. *Zucchetti* explains the position taken in the pseudo-athanasian work *Περὶ παρθενίας* (Migne 28, 251-282) by influence of the extreme ascetic views, condemned at Gangra, of Eustathius of Sebaste.

BASIL THE GREAT. According to *Ring*, the literary activity of Basil falls into two separate periods. The first is characterized by his effort to combat successive heresies. His antithetical method here is illustrated by *Ring* in a detailed analysis of three of his homilies: *Adversus iratos* (MSG 31, 353-372); *Attende*

tibi (197-217); *De legendis libris gentilium* (564-589). In all three, Ring thinks he can reconstruct the contentions of the opponents from Basil's language. That remains to be proved. *Schulte* sets forth many objections. — *Wittig* opposes the view universally current since Garnier, that the long, running commentary on Isaiah bearing the name of Basil (Migne 30, 117-667) is of doubtful authenticity. *Jülicher* and *Humbertclaude* agree to this, but *Simon* does not. On the basis of this view, in my opinion well founded, Wittig tries to connect the commentary with a definite situation in the life of the saint, and concludes that it consists of sermons or lectures delivered by Basil in Neo-Caesarea in the winter of 374-375, at an Episcopal conference held at Dazimon. This hypothesis fails, because the work is too extensive and too learned for such occasions. — *Rivière* has made a collection of Basil's most important utterances on questions of morals, drawn chiefly from his homilies. The texts are given in French translation, with connecting remarks. — *Schemmel* dates Basil's residence at Caesarea in the years 343-353. — *Laun's* thorough investigation elucidates the problem of the history of the tradition and the facts of the origin of the two monastic discourses, *Regula brevior* and *Regula fusior*. — Sister *Murphy's* essay is the antithesis of the study of Basil's attitude toward monasticism by Dr. Clarke (1913), who, she thinks, does not approach the subject with sufficient sympathy. Laun's article is mentioned in her rather full bibliography but does not appear to have been used.

CATENAE. In his first study, *Staab* shows that the catena ascribed, on the evidence of Cod. Coisl. 25, to a certain Andreas, not otherwise to be identified, is not by him but is drawn from a fundamental catena made up of anonymous pieces (Cod. Vat. gr. 652 and 1270) with later additions bearing the authors' names. As *Ropes* puts it, "Not all the details of so complicated a history permit a sure explanation, but the general outline of the conclusions to which the learned and acute investigator has been brought, seems to rest on just observations and sound arguments." — The same is true of *Staab's* later study, in which he has gone through the numerous compilations extant



in manuscripts, investigated the witnesses to their text, and their structure, mutual relations, age, and value.

CHRYSTOSTOM. *Baur* has been preparing himself for writing a comprehensive biography of Chrysostom by numerous papers which he has published in the last ten years, so that what he now offers is a work of ripened reflection and persistent industry. It is also readable. *Simon*, who, however, seems to write in a somewhat morose spirit, shows that the problems presented by the life of the great preacher have not all been solved. — *Ameringer's* study of the more important figures of speech in Chrysostom's panegyrics is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the conventional forms of late Greek poetry. — In opposition to *Baur*, who in his new book again upholds a previously expressed opinion, *Coleman-Norton* argues that the *Vita* ascribed to Archbishop George of Alexandria (620-630) is in fact his work. Half of it is indeed copied from *Palladius*, but the rest contains much of his own writing. — Of *Legrand's* book we can say the same is true as of *Rivière's* *St. Basil* (*above*). — Of *Moulard*, *Forget* says: "This critical study throws light on an interesting point in patristic tradition. It is broadly conceived and methodically developed and omits nothing that could help us to catch the fine shades of meaning in the occasionally inconsistent thought of St. John Chrysostom." — The purpose of *Burns's* dissertation is "to present the outstanding stylistic features of Chrysostom and to indicate to what extent these features have been affected by and are a product of the so-called second sophistic period of Greek oratory."

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. The works of *Casey* and *Meifort* are complementary to each other, being written from different points of view. Both show the significance in the development of Christian doctrine of the Platonism first introduced into theology by Clement, Meifort writing as a philosopher, Casey as an historian. Meifort's view that Platonism and Christianity, in the fundamental principles of their mode of thought, have no inner kinship, would hardly be accepted by Casey. — *Rüther's* work on the doctrine of original sin in Clement has been recognized by critics as a useful contribution;

but *Hering's* study has not met with approval, at any rate from *Flamion*. That Clement does not teach the pre-existence of souls certainly needed no special proof. — In *Prat's* detailed presentation of Clement's literary plans, I note that he makes the much disputed Διδάσκαλος a part of the Στρωματεῖς (in opposition to *de Faye*), while *Hering*, with the approval of *Harnack*, is of the opinion that Clement purposed to write a separate work with that title. — *Bardy's* monograph on Clement the moralist is composed on the same plan as *Rivière's* Basil, but enters more fully into the subject-matter. — *Pres-tige* observes that ὑπόστασις with Clement must be taken somewhat in the sense of *μονή*.

CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. *Eberle's* Mariology is so much under the influence of church dogma that the detailed discussions in it must be accepted with great caution. Characteristic of this is his way of speaking of the 'privileges of Mary,' as he calls her perpetual virginity (see *Koch*) and her sinlessness.

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM. *Lebon* says that Cyril has the same belief as the Nicenes on the consubstantiality of the divine persons, though he does not express it as they do. The essay contains many fine observations. — *Niederberger*, in his careful study, reaches the same conclusion as *Lebon*. He brings together everything in Cyril's catechisms about the being, origin, and activity of the Logos.

CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS. *Hermann* shows that the dates given in the Vitae of Euthymius, Saba, John Silentarius, Cyriac, and Theodosius are trustworthy.

DANIEL. *Baynes* holds that "the interest of the life [of Daniel] has been inadequately appreciated by modern historians, *e.g.* Bury," and he endeavors to supply the want himself.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE. *Stiglmayr*, who knows the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, having translated them for the Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, brings out the surprising hypothesis that the unknown author may have been no other than Severus of Antioch. Though much can be said for the hypothesis, *Lebon* is probably right in rejecting it, after a painstaking examination of the question, resting on his own unique acquaintance with the writings of Severus. The veil

which conceals the person of Dionysius seems beyond our power to lift.<sup>11</sup>

EPIPHANIUS. *Holl's* last work, a contribution to the volume in honor of Jülicher, is full of merit. The text which he publishes from a composite manuscript in Milan proves to be a fragment of a letter of Epiphanius in which the latter gives a peculiar account of the events of Holy Week and explains the reasons for it in his own learned fashion. Holl shows that the foundation of the chronology here used, with the arrest of Jesus on Wednesday, was taken from the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, and he draws far-reaching inferences for church history, which cannot be described here.

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. *Doergen's* book is the continuation of his earlier one on Eusebius's portrayal of the Phoenician religion (see HThR 1921, 332 f.) and shows that this writer's treatment of the Greek religion likewise was only at second or third hand. — *Laqueur's* study presents some weighty conclusions. Schwartz, in his edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, had already pointed out that this was not written all at one time, but owes its present form to the constantly returning hand of the author. Laqueur goes further into this matter. On the basis of an investigation, with new means, of the relation of the tract on the Palestinian martyrs to the eighth book of the *History*, he comes to the conclusion that the tract, in an earlier form not now extant, was originally a part of the eighth book, from which Eusebius himself later removed it. With this view he seeks to work out the history of the manuscript tradition of the last books of the work. His extremely complicated investigation can be followed and judged only with the text of Eusebius in hand. If Laqueur is right, as he probably is, readjustments will have to be made in the historical account as ordinarily written from Eusebius. — *Stevenson's* studies only touch the surface.

EUSTATHIUS OF ANTIOCH. *Sellers* repeats much that has long been current knowledge, but by many detailed observa-

<sup>11</sup> In his answer to Lebon *Stiglmayr* (Um eine Ehrenrettung des Severus von Antiochien. Schol 7, 1932, 52-67) holds to his opinion, and so does *Lebon* to his (Encore le pseudo-Dénis l'Aréopagite. RHE 28, 1932, 296-313).

tions shows that he knows the present state of research. His section on the literary remains of Eustathius and his careful exposition of that bishop's views on the trinity and on christology in relation to the general course of the history of doctrine are attractive. He would have done well to notice Schwartz's ascription of the *Sermo Maior* to Eustathius (see p. 223, *above*). — *Schemmel* argues that Letter 72 of the Emperor Julian is not addressed by Julian to Libanius, but by Eustathius to Julian, and that Letter 39 is from Julian to Eustathius, not to Maximus. — *Zoepfl* makes a detailed analysis of the Commentary on the Hexaëmeron ascribed to Eustathius but in reality a work not earlier than the fifth century, and shows that it is derived from the Homilies of Basil on the same subject.

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS. The editors of *Bousset's* *Apophthegmata* have attached to the textual studies noted above (p. 221) his valuable essays on the composition of the Centuries and the relation of Evagrius to Origen. The last one is a study of the Eighth Letter of Basil (Migne 32, 245-268), which Bousset assigns to Evagrius. — *Melcher* has come to the same conclusion independently, and it may now, in spite of *Simon's* doubts, be regarded as established.

GREGORY OF NYSSA. *Lenz* confines himself to presenting Gregory's ideas without adding any comments of his own; hence, his polemic against distinguishing Early Nicenes from Late Nicenes is superficial.

HIPPOLYTUS. *Müller* affirms the view that in the *Canones* we have a mainly secondary revision of the Ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις. — *Zahn's* view is that the fragment of Hippolytus Against Gaius, preserved by Dionysius Bar Salibi (1171), proves Gaius to have represented the Alogi in rejecting the Gospel of St. John.

IRENAEUS. *Bonwetsch* concludes that Irenaeus made an original contribution to theology, but operated throughout with traditional material (see *Loofs*, pp. 209 f., *above*). His several doctrinal positions are compendiously discussed. — *Koch* and *Esser* continue the discussion of the famous passage in *Adv. haer.* III, 3, 1, without bringing it within sight of settlement. — *Ficker*, in his review of *Spikowski*, points out that the oldest manuscript reads, not *a Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae*,



but a *Paulo et Petro*. *Spikowski*, a pupil of Rivière, has carefully collected all that is to be said on Irenaeus's doctrine of the Church. He handles the passage in *Adv. haer.* at III, 3, 1 with noteworthy care and freedom from prejudice. — *Marmorstein* shows, from Irenaeus's use of the names for God, that he derived his Hebrew traditions and the haggadic elements of his exegesis from Jews or Jewish Christians. — *Müller* points out that Irenaeus makes no mention of a special charisma of bishops. This conception is first found in Hippolytus. — The important work undertaken by *Sanday* and carried through after his death by *Turner*, now also deceased, in bringing together and weighing the New Testament quotations in Irenaeus, has been received on all sides with deep gratification. We now possess a complete collection, the value of which is enhanced by the fact that the Armenian version of the fourth and fifth books has been made available (see *Merk*, pp. 6, 215, 227, *above*) by the work of competent scholars (Conybeare and Robinson). The introductory discussions include a treatment of the date of the Latin translation, which, as hitherto, is variously estimated, Sanday setting it at about 200, Souter in 370-420. Turner himself recognizes that the labor spent has not solved all the problems: "It bears only too manifestly the signs of multiple authorship." — It is well therefore that *Kraft* has re-examined the tradition of the gospel quotations. He finds the text used by Irenaeus is very closely related to the 'Western' text, and holds that it must therefore have been somehow influenced by Tatian's harmony of the gospels. *Vogels* is specially gratified by this result, but he is well known, at least in matters relating to Tatian, to occupy a peculiar position (see pp. 208-209, *above*).

ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM. The monograph of *Balanos* [Μπάλανος] is praised by *von der Goltz* as a fresh stimulus to the study of this lovable and sincerely Christian ascetic. — *Fräulein Redl* has followed his suggestion by her collection and instructive treatment of the passages on the art of rhetoric in Isidore's letters. A critical edition of the letters is sorely needed. The best preliminary study is that of *Schwartz* in the *Acta I*, 4, 9-25 (see p. 220, *above*).

**JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS.** When I wrote my article on Julian and the Monophysites for the *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* thirty years ago, investigation was still in the pre-critical stage. In particular, no attention had been paid to the Syriac versions, which lay hidden in manuscripts in the British Museum and the Vatican. Later Lebon, with his book *Le monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain, 1909), pointed out the true path and pursued it as far as was then possible. His pupil *Draguet* has followed in his steps, and continued the task with tireless energy and great circumspection. His work on Julian is distinguished for its abundance of references to the bishop's literary remains (see *above*, p. 240) but almost more by the thorough presentation of his doctrine in the controversy with Severus of Antioch. We may not agree with all his conclusions, especially when he tries to overthrow the accepted opinion of Julian's apthartodocetism (that is, the doctrine that Christ's body, by virtue of its union with the Logos, was incorruptible), in order to bring him nearer to orthodoxy. The critics at once attacked this position; in particular *Jugie*, one of the most learned students of Oriental ecclesiastical and dogmatic history, points out that Julian clearly declined to accept the doctrine, which Severus defended, of the natural corruptibility of the body of Christ in his earthly life. Nevertheless, all future research must rest on *Draguet's* work. For Severus, much is to be learned from *Draguet*, for instance regarding the tradition of the *φιλότης* (see p. 240).

**JUSTINIAN.** In the last period of his reign, Justinian tried by an edict to establish apthartodocetism as orthodox doctrine, but was thwarted in this purpose by death. *Loofs* tells the story from the sources. He thinks the emperor's 'heresy' was only the consistent carrying-through of the physical doctrine of redemption of the Oriental theology.

**MACARIUS.** *Villecourt* presents the surprising hypothesis that the *Ὁμιλῖαι πνευματικαί*, which are attributed to Macarius the Egyptian and are so important for asceticism and mysticism, may proceed from Messalian circles. This thesis has found wide acceptance, among others, from *Marriott*, a high

authority on the subject. *Wilmart* accepts it with reserve; *Stiglmayr* rejects it, finding the Homilies inconsistent with the doctrine and practice of the Messalians.

MAXIMUS CONFESSOR. *Grumel* seeks to provide a new basis for certain dates in the agitated life of Maximus — the sojourn in Africa, 633-641; that in Rome, 641-649; and others. — *Viller* proves convincingly that in thought and often in verbal expression Maximus agrees closely with Evagrius Ponticus, who in turn drew much from Origen, so that much of the 'spiritual' thought of the great Alexandrian survives in the writings of Maximus. — *Soppa* shows that the *κεφάλαια θεολογικά* printed among the works of Maximus are not by him, but probably by Antonius Melissa (11th cent.).

METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS. Bonwetsch's fine edition (1917) opened the way for a profounder study of the theology of Methodius. In this *Farges* has gone farthest, winning praise from his critics.

NESTORIUS. In the opinion of the present writer, with which *Loofs* agrees, *Pesch's* book is useless for scholarly discussion, because it rests on rigid dogmatic assumptions.

NILUS. For the problems raised by *Heussi* I would refer to what I said in this Review (1921, p. 373, with the foot-note).

ORIGEN. Gladly as one listens to a scholar of *de Faye's* competence, it cannot be denied that his book is disappointing to the critical reader. The present reviewer at least has found scarcely anything new in it. This is true not only of the part about the life and teaching of Origen, but also of the second volume, where the writer has introduced a detailed account of the development of the philosophy of religion from Pyrrhus to Plotinus, in which, as *Bardy* correctly observes, Origen is lost quite out of sight. This defect is connected with the author's lofty indifference to what others have written on his subject. He tells the story as if it had never been told before. One who wants to know a little about Origen can turn to this book and will gain instruction, but it is not a fruitful contribution to the deeper scholarly knowledge.<sup>12</sup> — The fragment of a letter of

<sup>12</sup> Such enrichment of our knowledge we now owe to a young German scholar, *Walther Völker*, who has lately published a portion of his penetrating studies under

Origen, preserved in Eusebius, H. E. vi. 19, 12-14, enables *Koch* to show that the clericalizing of the Christian teacher's position in Alexandria, previously free, began with Demetrius and Heraclas. — Frau *Miura-Stange*, a German lady married in Japan, has endeavored, at the suggestion of her teacher Harnack, who adds a sympathetic preface to her book, to get a better understanding than has been hitherto attained of the ground common to Origen and Celsus, by means of a thorough study of the great work, *Contra Celsum*. She recognizes the difference in the positions from which the two opponents start, due to their differing general views, but holds to a far-reaching agreement in all essentials, in spite of their bitter mutual opposition. This agreement she develops in regard to their theology, cosmology, psychology, anthropology, and attitude toward magic (on which compare *Bardy*). In the concluding chapter she tries to show that Origen's defence of the God Jesus is fundamentally heathen, since he has merely applied to the historical Jesus the hellenistic ideal of a god of miracles, which Celsus also shared with his period. Strongly subjective in treatment as it is, the work has met with both approval and the opposite (the latter especially from the Catholic side; see *Schulte*). The author has certainly given a lively incentive to further study. — *Verfaillie's* assemblage of material bearing on the doctrine of justification in Origen's exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans is commended as useful by critics. His practice of interpreting the teaching of the Alexandrian by the standard of later Catholic doctrine, in order to show their harmony, seems to me a rash procedure.

PAUL OF SAMOSATA. By far the most important contributions to our understanding of the theology of the East have been made by *Bardy* and *Loofs*, two great authorities on patristics, in their monographs on Paul of Samosata, which, singularly enough, appeared almost at the same moment but without knowledge by either writer of the other's work. These two books afford the best possible opportunity to observe the

the title: *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes* (BHTh 7). Tübingen, Mohr, 1931. iv, 236 pp. [*H.-G. Opitz*, ThLZ 57, 1932, 489-494; *F. Schulte*, ThR 31, 1932, 364, ff.; *D. van den Eynde*, RHE 23, 1932, 627, f.]



difference between French and German methods of work and art of presentation. Bardy's manner is distinguished by clear arrangement, lucid exposition, and brilliant diction, but he does not see the problems, especially in the history of doctrine, so clearly as his German rival. In comparison Loofs seems heavy. He loves intricate trains of thought, which are not easy even for the specialist to follow; whoever can do so, finds himself rewarded, and to follow Loofs in detail is everywhere profitable. Bardy had the advantage of being able, after several years, to issue his book a second time in a new form, for which he had the benefit both of Loofs's work and of the criticisms on both books; his use of this advantage is ideal. That is rare in the history of our subject, and deserves emphasis. Loofs himself, who died in 1930, would surely have been gratified by it, especially since many of the objections which he had felt obliged to make had been accepted by Bardy. Thus the severe judgment that Bardy had expressed on Paul, both as a man and as a theologian, has been, not indeed withdrawn, but at least moderated. On literary questions the two writers agree closely, which is very satisfactory, for it gives us firm ground to stand on. A case of this is the judgment on the letter of the six bishops to Paul, the so-called Hymenaeus letter, which (as well as the two letters of Dionysius of Alexandria to and against Paul, see p. 232 *above*) Schwartz recently pronounced to be not genuine; Bardy hesitated over this matter at first, but now, like Loofs and most other critics, he admits the letter as genuine. Similar agreement prevails regarding the so-called *Λόγοι πρὸς Σαβίνον*, which neither Loofs nor Bardy considers a contemporary document. Both are convinced that *Harnack's* contrary opinion is to be rejected, though Loofs thinks the Logoi may contain a genuine core. Paul's doctrinal position is commonly called the flowering of dynamistic monarchianism, but Loofs holds this definition to be not sufficiently exact, and would substitute the term "monotheistic-dyophysite." This phrase will, I fear, meet little approval, though it does compel us to study the connections more closely than has been done. Bardy finds no reason for changing his view, which is the usual one. In any case, Loofs's observation that Paul's

theology, or christology, had its roots in the pre-apologetic period is of importance, though Bardy does not accept it. With these relationships of tradition may be compared Loofs's later monograph on Theophilus of Antioch (see p. 209, *above*). He has Bardy's assent to his new explanation of the nineteenth Canon of Nicaea concerning the *παυλιανίσαντες*, but not to the distinction he draws between Lucian the martyr and another Lucian, a supposed schismatic follower of Paul, whose existence is denied by Bardy and other critics.

PHILOPONUS. *Hermann* treats not so much the christology as the tritheism of Philoponus. After a brief account of his life and writings, he investigates his christological views and their philosophical presuppositions, then turns to the position of Philoponus in the christological controversy, and closes with an estimate of his significance in the history of doctrine. Sanda's new edition (see p. 218, *above*) he could not use.

STEPHANUS GOBARAS. *Harnack* gives a vivid description of the dialectic method of the tritheist Stephanus Gobaras, who wrote in Egypt or Syria under Justin II (565-578) and in whose work he would recognize a precursor of the *Sic et Non* of Abelard.

SYNESIUS OF CYRENE. In his treatise on dreams, Synesius undertook to prove the value of revelations given through dreams and other signs. Here *Lang* not only gives us a translation of great merit but also illustrates it with a painstaking commentary in the light of the Neo-platonic influences at work in the time of its composition. Considerable light is thrown especially on the Neo-platonist, Porphyry of Tyre, whose philosophico-political activity has concerned scholarship much of late.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. *Vosté* distinguishes two periods in Theodore's literary activity. His views which were repudiated by the Church appear only in his latest works, after 400. Since *Vosté* depends only on internal criticism, his construction remains doubtful.

THEODORUS STUDITA. *Hausherr* discusses Theodorus Studita as a monk and as a reformer of monasticism. An appendix contains a study of the christology of the separate pieces which make up his great catechetical work.

**ZEPHYRINUS OF ROME.** *Harnack* finds in Zephyrinus's declaration against Sabellius (*Hipp. Refut.*, ix. 11, 3) the earliest dogmatic utterance of a Bishop of Rome known to us in its original wording.

## B. LATIN, EXCLUSIVE OF AUGUSTINE

### (a) *Texts*

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[14, 1: pisto is πιστός latinized. RBd sup 1, 290.] — *Shewring, W. H.*, Une fin de phrase dans l'Octavius — de Minucius Félix (RBd 41, 1929, 367). — *Wageningen, J. van*, M. Minucii Felicis Octavius, van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien. Utrecht, Ruys, 1923. 2 vols. 80, 202 pp. [*H. Wagenvoort*, Museum 32, 1925, 3-7]; De siccandis umoribus. Minucius Felix Octavius II, 3 (Mnem 49, 1921, 103 ff.).

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**VICTOR OF VITA.** *Ghedini, G.*, Le clausole ritmiche nella Historia persecutionis africanae provinciae di Vittore de Vita. Milan, Vita e Pensiero, 1927. 80 pp. [RBd sup 2, 70.]

**VICTORINUS OF PETTAU.** *Vaccari, A.*, Victorini in Apocalypsim editio princeps (Bibl 3, 1922, 340-342). [Printed in 1542, not 1543.] — *\*Wohrer, J.*, Eine kleine Schrift, die vielleicht dem heiligen Martyrerbischof Victorinus

von Pettau angehört (Jahresbericht des Privat-Gymnasiums der Zisterzienser in Wilhering, 1927, 3-8); Victorini episcopi Petavionensis Ad Justinum Manichaeum (*ibid.*, 1928, 3-7). [RBd sup 2, 44, 45.]

VINCENT OF LERINS. \**Jülicher, Adolf*, ed., Vincenz von Lerinum: Commonitorium pro catholicae fidei antiquitate etc. (SQ 1, 10). Tübingen, Mohr, 1925. xiv, 78 pp.

GENERAL. *Souter* undertakes to give a view of Pauline exegesis in the Latin church, treating of Victorinus of Pettau, Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Augustine, and Pelagius. After mentioning the chief events of their lives, he discusses the manuscripts, the biblical text, the sources, and the style and language of each interpreter. For Pelagius, see *below*, page 269. — The manuscript consulted by *Dobiache-Rojdestvensky* contains a tract of Rufinus, the first epistle of Fulgentius of Ruspe, two homilies of Origen, and two letters of Jerome.

AMBROSE. Among the shorter works of Ambrose are three, *De helia et jejudio*, *De Nabuthae*, and *De Tobia*, which have a peculiar interest because of the light they throw on the society of the period. But they have never until now been systematically studied or translated. Hence the editions with translations, of *De Nabuthae* by *McGuire* and *De helia et jejudio* by *Sister Buck*, are welcome. The text is that of *Schenkl* in CSEL, with the necessary changes. An edition of *De Tobia* is in preparation for the *Patristic Studies*. — For her edition of the *Oratio*, *Sister Mannix* has collated seven manuscripts not known to the Benedictines, whose text she follows in the main. — *Albers* prints *Schenkl's* text, but with numerous blunders. — The six books *De sacramentis*, printed under the name of Ambrose (MSL 16, 417-462), are almost universally held not to be genuine, but *Morin* now comes forward as their champion, basing his argument on the identity of authorship of *De sacramentis* and the *Explanatio symboli*. The genuineness of the latter is maintained by supposing it to be, not indeed the product of Ambrose's own pen, but his catechetical instructions as written down by a somewhat unskilled hearer. So *De sacramentis* is not strictly by Ambrose, but the product of a hearer's shorthand notes. *Morin* supports his argument by numerous examples of stylistic resemblance to accepted works of Ambrose.

— *Faller* also, who is to edit *De sacramentis* for the Vienna Corpus, brings up the evidence of the manuscripts to support its genuineness, but it is to be noted that the two oldest manuscripts do not give the author's name. — *Atchley*, who assigns the work to Gaul (6th century), is not convincing.

AMBROSIASTER. *Morin* is justified in speaking of the blind alley into which the search for the author of Ambrosiaster has run. It is not likely that he will ever be found. Even *Morin's* latest suggestion, that he may be Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, son of Pacianus of Barcelona, is not likely to be accepted; we know practically nothing about this man. — *D'Alès* calls attention to certain points of contact between Ambrosiaster and Zeno of Verona, but without trying to identify them. — *Koch* considers especially the parallels with Priscillian, making out the latter to be the borrower.

BEATUS OF LIBANA. The commentary on the Apocalypse composed by Beatus about 776 is significant also for earlier patristic studies, for it preserves considerable portions of the lost commentary of the Donatist Tichonius. Unfortunately, in publishing it, *Sanders* has failed to present an exact investigation of the sources, a defect which is justly criticized by *de Bruyne*.

BENEDICT OF NURSIA. The second issue of *Butler's* fine edition differs from the former one (1912) in making a considerable increase in the testimonia, especially as found in the agreements with the *De institutis* and *Collationes* of Cassian. — That Benedict did not write down his Rule all at once, but from time to time added to it according to need, is generally acknowledged. *Gradenwitz*, employing the method used by Lenel for the Pandects, endeavors to distinguish these additions and so to approach more nearly to the original text of the Rule. Recently he has also applied Eduard Sievers's, the Leipzig professor's (†1932), system of sound-analysis. The results will hardly prove always right, but the present writer will not deny that Gradenwitz has made many good observations. *Lambot* calls these efforts all "love's labor lost." — *Linderberger's* critically established text is furnished with an instructive introduction and an admirable detailed commentary. His edition

in the *Florilegium Patristicum* gives only the text of the old edition with minor variations (following especially the *Codex Sangermanensis*).

BOETHIUS. To his two concordances of Horace (1916) and the Latin, Greek, and Italian poems of Milton (1923), *Cooper* has added a third, resting on Stewart and Rand's fine edition of Boethius in the Loeb Classical Library (London, Heinemann; New York, Macmillan; latest edition, 1926). It seeks to include every word of the texts excerpted, and after checking thousands of quotations himself, as well as having all of them and all references checked and rechecked by willing, if sometimes amateur, hands, the author believes it to be tolerably free from misprints.

CASSIODORUS. According to *Chapman*, the text of the celebrated *Codex Amiatinus* must have proceeded from Cassiodorus's monastery of Vivarium. *De Bruyne* expresses some doubts, to which *Chapman* in part assents.

CYPRIAN. *Bayard's* edition of the letters is an advance over *Hartel* in giving readings from some additional manuscripts (*Codices Veronensis* and *Beneventanus*), but the editor does not give the thorough discussion of *Hartel's* text which is needed.—*Blakeney's* edition of *De unitate* has no independent value.—On the other hand *Martin* has given careful attention to the text of *De lapsis*. That he does not follow *Cod. Seguerianus* (*Parisinus*) everywhere, as *Hartel* does, and that he gives the preference to the *Monacensis* over the *Wirceburgensis*, against the authority of *Hartel*, can only be approved. In most cases, however, his departures from *Hartel* are trifles, chiefly affecting the order of words. *Koch*, while fully acknowledging the excellence of the text, enriches the commentary by citing numerous parallels, such as only so eminent a student of *Cyprian* as he is could have provided.

DAMASUS. On the ground of an old catalogue of this pope's writings, *Schanz* and *Bardenhewer* ascribed to him a treatise *De vitiis*. *Merkle* shows that this rests on a scribal error for 'De vitis' (*pontificum*), meaning the *Liber pontificalis*, which has long been attributed to *Damasus*.

FASTIDIUS. Many years ago (1898), *Morin* proposed the hy-



pothesis that this British bishop might be the author of the Pelagian treatises in the *Corpus Pelagianum* collected by Caspari (1890). This hypothesis was universally accepted (see for example Schanz-Krüger, §1204), and, on the strength of it, *Haslehurst* has prepared a new edition of the tracts. It is welcome, for Caspari's is hard to get; but he adds no observations of his own. — *Morin*, by the use of Cod. Basil. O IV, 18 (12 century), has been able to publish entire the sixth tractate, *De castitate*, the end of which was incomplete in Cod. Vat. 3834, the only manuscript hitherto known.

FAUSTUS. *Monceaux* is of the opinion that the entire work of the Manichaeen Faustus against which Augustine's polemic is directed can be reconstructed from the latter's counter-argument. The objection that the excerpts from the work given by Augustine form only a disconnected conglomeration he would meet by assuming that Augustine used a copy already in disorder, so that it is only a question of restoring the original arrangement. This *Monceaux* has undertaken to do, and he thinks that by his rearrangement the whole work of Faustus can be recovered. It cannot be denied that this ambitious structure rests on a somewhat uncertain foundation.

FERRANDUS. For his edition of the *Vita Fulgentii*, the first critical edition to be published, *Lapeyre* has used 47 manuscripts. A French translation accompanies the text. He considers it certain that Ferrandus is the author. See *Krüger*, page 286, *below*.

GENNADIUS. To chapter XXXIX of the *Viri illustres*, relating to Augustine, certain passages are attached in the manuscript tradition which are evident interpolations. *Feder* holds that this applies also to the passage in which, in the words of Ecclesiastes, Augustine is reproached for his loquacity. But that kind of malicious accusation is so consistent with the whole spirit of this semipelagian author, that no reason appears, why it should not have come from his pen.

GREGORY THE GREAT. As the basis of his edition of the *Dialogues* *Moricca* takes ten Italian manuscripts, among which Codd. Ambros. B. 159 sup. and Veron. 46 (both of the 8th century) are the most important. That he failed to use such im-

portant manuscripts as Codd. Sangall. 213, 214, 215 and Berol. 466 is justly criticized in the *Revue bénédictine*. The same critic deplores the editor's strange habit of copying the spelling of his manuscripts, even where it is meaningless, in disregard of the fact that the spelling of an eighth-century scribe proves nothing about that of Gregory. — In my earlier article (1921, pp. 363 ff.) I gave detailed grounds for rejecting Peitz's bold attempt to discredit the current view of the manuscript tradition of Gregory's *Registrum*. *Posner* has now brought decisive proof that Ewald was right in considering the Hadrianic Register, on which he based his edition, to be only an extract from the lost original. Ewald's edition therefore retains its value. — In spite of the doubts raised of the genuineness of the first two homilies on the Canticles (MSL 79, 471), *Capelle* holds to their authenticity. *Vaccari* agrees.

**HYMNS.** *Walpole's* edition is unreservedly approved by *Soder* for its comprehensiveness, while he calls *Hellinghaus's* "almost childish" compared with the English edition. We should take into consideration, however, that *Hellinghaus* did not aim so high as *Walpole*. He only contemplated making, as he has done, a useful manual edition of the most important hymns.

**JEROME.** *Capelle* sees in the sermon printed in MSL 30, 26 ff., a genuine work of Jerome, and gives a corrected text. — *Cavallera* discusses (1) the tract against Origen on the Vision of Isaiah (ed. Amelli, 1901); (2) an obscure passage in Epistle 28 Ad Rufinum, relating to a certain Cerealis; (3) the chronology of Epistles 53, 58, 120, 121. — If *de Bruyne* is right, Jerome occasionally, by way of a jest, wrote letters to fictitious persons. Thus the two Goths, Sunnia and Fretela, to whom the famous Epistle 106 on the text of the Psalms was written, are pure inventions, and the letter was intended to dissipate the prejudices of Jerome's Roman readers against his translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew by showing that even barbarians were interested in the original text. Similarly with Epistles 117, 120, 121, and especially 147, to the deacon Sabianus, whose dubious course of life, as recounted in it, is wholly imaginary. It is worth the trouble to examine closely this some-

what audacious thesis. — *Reitzenstein* points out that Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 1601 shows what extensive use of Origen Jerome made in his commentary on Joel. — *Feder*, entrusted by the management of CSEL with the task of editing the Catalogue of Writers (*De viris illustribus*) of Jerome and Gennadius, treats in the present volume, with exemplary philological exactness, the manuscript tradition, the origin, and the structure of Jerome's Catalogue. Unfortunately his death prevented his completing the work.

LACTANTIUS. As a preliminary to his new edition of the *Institutiones* for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana, *Brandt* publishes some observations, the most important of which is the proof of close dependence on Quintilian. — *Pesenti* and *Borleffs* are agreed that for reconstructing the text of *De mortibus* the single manuscript (Cod. Colbertinus) ought to be followed more closely than is done by Brandt, whose conjectures are not always approved.

LEO THE GREAT. *Blakeney's* students' edition of the famous *Tomus Leonis* is of no critical value, but he gives in the margin of *Ballerini's* text, which he reprints, the hitherto unnoticed readings of Cod. Monac. 14540, to which Turner called his attention. It is important that this manuscript gives the correct address of Leo's Epistle 35, which, as *Jülicher* notes, was not addressed to Julian of Cos. but to Juvenalis of Jerusalem.

MAXIMINUS. In 1915 (JThSt 16) Spagnolo and Turner published from Cod. Veron. 51 an ancient homiliary, which on closer examination proved to be of fifth-century origin. *Cappelle* shows that the author must have been an Arian, and moreover no other than the well-known African bishop Maximinus, against whom Augustine wrote two books. Turner agrees.

MINUCIUS FELIX. *Martin* has given a new form to Rauschen's edition, now out of print, to the extent of laying more stress on the Paris manuscript than earlier editors did. This has its place as against many ill-considered conjectures which the manuscripts have had to put up with, but the reader sometimes is led to ask whether Martin is not too conservative.

Especially to be noted is the case of the long section from Chap. 21, 4 to Chap. 24, 5 of previous editions, where he would restore the arrangement of the text found in the manuscript but abandoned since Lindner (1760). Occasionally he himself proposes improvements, and these deserve consideration. *Koch* has reviewed the book thoroughly and with his unfailing critical acumen. — *Wageningen* publishes Waltzing's text with some alterations. The introduction and notes will be useful to readers of Dutch.

NICETA OF REMESIANA. For his edition of *De vigiliis* and *De psalmodiae bono*, or as he prefers to call it, *De utilitate hymnorum*, *Turner* has used the Cod. Vat. Reg. 131, which he discovered. Its readings are so good that he thinks it no exaggeration to say that now for the first time the two tracts can be made fully intelligible. Nevertheless, *Capelle* explains why this edition does not completely supersede that of *Burn* (1905).

OPTATUS. *Baynes* reinforces the arguments brought forward years ago by *Duchesne*, in opposition to *Seeck*, to show that the Donatist documents used by Optatus were genuine. — If the sermon ascribed to Optatus which *Wilmart* publishes afresh is really his, as *Capelle* believes, it would be our oldest witness for the celebration of Christmas in the west.

OROSIUS. *Svennung's* grammatical studies are praised by competent critics. His proof that Zangemeister's edition in CSEL leaves something to be desired is of importance.

PACATUS. According to Victor of Capua (*Pitra*, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 1, 1852, 281), a certain Pacatus wrote a refutation of Porphyry's attack upon the Christians. *Harnack* recognized fragments of this work in another place (*Irenaeus*, ed. *Feuardentius*, 1595, 240 ff.) and by an ingenious combination he identified the apologist with the rhetorician Drepanius Pacatus (*Schanz* IV, 1, §815) and this latter again with a friend of Paulinus of Nola named Pacatus (*Schanz* §876, p. 237 f.). Thus he thought he had discovered a new church father. *Baehrens* has, to be sure, diluted the argument by showing that at least the identification of the rhetorician with the apologist is weak in its linguistic basis. However, this does



not affect Harnack's main thesis, which should have further study.

PAULINUS. For her edition of the "Vita" Sister *Kaniecka* has freshly collated the four most important manuscripts: Codd. Cantab. B2, 13, Par. Bibl. Nat. 3779, 2076, 1771. Her translation is the first to appear in any modern language. A detailed commentary is added.

PELAGIUS. The *Commentarii in epistolas S. Pauli*, which are printed among the works of Jerome (MSL 30, 645-902), were regarded throughout the Middle Ages and long after that time as his work, although the signs of Pelagian origin were clear enough. This was due partly to the bad condition of the text, to which only in recent times have scholars, especially in Germany (Zimmer, Riggenbach, Hellmann), directed their labors. The marvellous perseverance of *Souter*, who has devoted years of self-denying work to this task, and equally his aptness for discovery have succeeded in removing the difficulties which beset the correct understanding of the commentary. His edition is recognized by critics everywhere as a model. Above all he has elicited the genuine commentary, that is, has freed the text from interpolations, by using for the first time two manuscripts, Augiensis 119 and Baliolensis 151. At the same time he has paid attention to the subject matter, pointing out the sources and seeking to solve the difficult problems of the biblical text. On this last point the critics entertain some doubts as to his solution. The question is complicated by the fact that the two manuscripts do not entirely agree in text, that of the Augiensis having been apparently more drastically vulgatized than that of the Baliolensis, to which *Souter* gives the preference. But so competent a student of the Old Latin versions as *Vogels* is convinced that the text of Pelagius stood much nearer to the Vulgate than the form now published by *Souter* would imply. *De Bruyne* even believes that Pelagius was the author of the Vulgate text of Paul, in which, as is now generally recognized, Jerome had no part. *Vogels*, on the other hand, urges that Pelagius, in his commentary, operates with the Bible text already in existence. However that may be, *Souter's* distinguished work has greatly advanced research on this and all

other pertinent questions. Above all, we have now at our command a better tool than ever before for the secure study of the dogmatic position of Pelagius. Souter's commentary is a great achievement, admirable for its independence of judgment and simplicity of style, — though it is devoted to a good-for-nothing object, for the rationalistic, moralistic mind of Pelagius presents the greatest possible contrast to the apostle's mystical depth. A supplementary volume, containing the interpolations of Pseudo-Jerome and those of Codd. Sangall. 73 and Par. Bibl. Nat. 653, appeared in 1931.

PEREGRINATIO EGERIAE. That once more a reprint of the edition of *Heraeus*, first issued in 1908, was necessary, bears witness to the interest still felt in this Spanish lady's account of her pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Since it has long been known that her name was neither Silvia nor Aetheria, it is not easy to understand why Heraeus has kept in his title the names that he rejects in his introduction. (See *Bludau*, p. 289 f., *below*.)

PETRUS CHRYSOLOGUS. Codex Vaticanus 5758, saec. VII, contains eighteen anonymous sermons, all of them already published, nine among the sermons of Petrus Chrysologus and nine among the pseudo-augustiniana of Mai and Liverani. *De Bruyne* thinks to detect in these latter also the characteristics of Petrus, and is inclined to assign them to him. — *Baxter* calls attention to certain peculiarities of style and vocabulary in the acknowledged sermons of Petrus.

PHOEBADIUS. *Durengues* publishes the text of *Contra Arianos* from the single manuscript (Cod. Leydensis Voss. 58) without taking the trouble to eliminate its numerous errors. *Lambot*, who justly criticizes this, proposes a number of corrections. A facsimile of the manuscript is added to the edition.

POSSIDIUS. The translation of the *Vita Augustini* is one of the last gifts to us of *Harnack's* tireless industry. It is based on Weisskotten's edition of 1919. — *De Bruyne* shows that this text is not above criticism. — The oldest extant copy of the *List of Possidius* is to be found in Cod. Veron. XXII. 20, probably saec. VI. *Kalinka's* collations show that the text printed in MSL 46, 5–22 needs considerable correction. His careful deciphering of the notes written in Tironian shorthand

is useful. — *Wilmart* has given us a critical edition of this important document, perfect in its way, with faultless apparatus, preface, and indices. Further, in appended tables he has presented an exact comparison of the *Indiculus* with all known writings of Augustine arranged as they stand in the editions. This shows that Possidius made insufficient use of the list drawn up by Augustine himself, at his disposal in the library at Hippo. Nevertheless, his list possesses unique value. For one difficult place in it, *de Bruyne* has found a surprisingly simple explanation. Where we read among the Donatist writings VI, 10, *contraquodamoxormissum est, liber unus*, we need only to divide: *Contra quod a Moxor missum est*, and behold, here is a reply by Augustine to an attack sent him from Moxor, a small, almost unknown town in Numidia (see Morcelli, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, 1912, p. 433).

PRISCILLIAN. Long ago Morin tried to prove (RBd 30, 1913, 153-172) that not Priscillian but his friend Instantius was the author of the tracts ascribed in the manuscript tradition to the former. This at once provoked dissent (for example, from the present writer, ThLZ 38, 1913, 654 f.). *Martin* has now brought forward new arguments which show Morin's theory to be untenable.

PROSPER. Prosper's authorship of the two books *De vocatione gentium* has in the past been considered probable (see Schanz-Krüger, §1199, p. 498); *Cappuyns* has now decisively proved it. He also assigns to Prosper the *Capitula* against semipelagianism transmitted among the *Decretals* of Pope Celestine I.

PRUDENTIUS. *Bergman's* text of the poems of Prudentius differs little from that of previous editions, and the text is now definitely established. An enormous amount of material (there are more than 300 manuscripts) has been completely examined and digested, with the result that only twelve remain to be included in the apparatus. The two oldest of these, Cod. Par. 8084 saec. VI and Cod. Ambros. D 36 sup. saec. VII, were indeed known to the earlier editors, but they gave greater weight to Cod. Vat. Reg. 321 saec. X, which is inferior to these two both in age and in merit. They are not complete, it is true,

and have to be supplemented from derived or related manuscripts. The apparatus is simple and clearly arranged, the indices perfect. — The very excellent work named second in the bibliography is the first part of a monograph on the poet, not yet completed. It comprises an introduction on the present state of research and a study of the *Cathemerinon liber*.

**QUODVULTDEUS.** In my earlier report (1921, p. 339) I mentioned Morin's thesis that Quodvultdeus was the author of a number of pseudo-augustinian sermons, and said that Franes had taken up the idea and carried it further, making out Quodvultdeus to be the author also of the work *De promissionibus et praedicationibus dei* (MSL 51, 753–838), which goes under the name of Prosper of Aquitaine. Schepens (RSR 9, 1919, 230–243) came independently to the same position, but Feder (ThR 20, 1921, 385) and Vaccari (Bibl 2, 1921, 101) refused to accept the second hypothesis. *Franses* and *Schepens* now defend it once more, while *Capelle* agrees, though he cannot overcome all the doubts raised by the two opponents, especially on the ground of the comparison of the Bible text in the sermons and in the *Liber de promissionibus*. *Adhuc sub iudice lis est*.

**TERTULLIAN.** The battle over the value of Codex Fuldensis for the construction of the text of the *Apologeticum*, on which we reported in 1921 (pp. 339 f.), seems never to die out. *Thörnell* has lately taken up again the theory of a double revision, according to which the Fuldensis represents a first, preliminary edition, while the other manuscripts, which in some way or other go back to a common archetype, give the text as finally determined by the author. The present writer thinks this very unlikely, and concurs heartily in *Callewaert's* criticism.<sup>13</sup> — *Waltzing* adheres to his theory of a double tradition of a single edition. — *Colombo* vacillates in his edition between the readings of the two groups of manuscripts, producing a mixture which *Amatucci* and *Capelle* quite rightly condemn.

<sup>13</sup> In the last edition of the *Apologeticum*, *Joseph Martin* (FP 6, 1933) also rejects Thörnell's hypothesis decisively and on the basis of most careful collations comes to the conclusion: *neque solum Fuldensem neque Vulgatum sequi debere qui genuinum textum eruere sibi proposuerit*.



— *Souter* rejects the readings of the Fuldensis without giving reasons in detail. He points out that the fragment published by Kroymann (RhM 70, 1915, 362) and claimed for the Fuldensis, belongs not to this codex but to another and valuable representative of the same type of text, from the latter part of the 8th or early part of the 9th century. — *Mancini* has found a new manuscript of the vulgate text of the treatise, and from it *Pasquali* publishes the most important readings. — *Borleff's* edition of *Ad nationes* rests on a new collation of the *Agobardinus*. It appears that *Oehler's* readings were more often right than *Reiffenscheid's* (CSEL). — *Marra's* edition of the *De corona* is to be welcomed as a forerunner of the eventual publication in CSEL. He has used three Florentine manuscripts to fill out the gaps in the *Agobardinus*. — On *Muncey's* edition of *De oratione Souter* passes a severe judgment: "The book swarms with errors due to ignorance or carelessness." — *Martin* has found little to change in the text of *Rauschen's* edition of *De praescriptione*. — A critical edition, based on the Vatican manuscript, of the pseudo-tertullian *De execrandis gentium diis* is published by *Bickel*, who assigns the work to the 6th century.

VICTORINUS. To certain mediaeval manuscripts of Victorinus's commentary on the Apocalypse, three rather short anonymous pieces are appended. *Wöhrer's* discussion of them I have not seen, and I agree with the critic of RBd, who objects that studies of this kind which are of some importance ought not to be published in so remote a place, where even a German scholar, to say nothing of foreigners, is not likely to look for them.

VINCENT OF LERINS. To the second issue of his edition, the text of which is electrotyped, *Jülicher* has added an appendix on the textual criticism, in which he discusses the variations from his text found in the editions of *Rauschen* (1905) and *Moxon* (CPT, 1915). This appendix should not be overlooked.

(b) *Life, Writings, and Doctrine*

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AMBROSE. *Campenhausen's* fine book on Ambrose as ecclesiastical statesman touches only incidentally on literary matters, but I note the following points: the *Apologia prophetarum Daniel*, dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius, was probably written in the autumn of 384. The value of the testimony of Pseudo-Prosper concerning Theodosius and the affair of the removal of the statue of Victory from the Roman Senate House is brought under doubt. The treatise *De sacramentis* is pronounced beyond question to be not genuine, although the writer had not seen *Morin's* and *Faller's* (see pp. 262-263, above) articles. As to the chronological order of Epistles 12-14, Campenhausen supports the Benedictines against von Schubert and Wittig. — *Wilbrand* gives decisive proofs that Ambrose's frequent references to his earlier writings enable us to determine the chronology of the writings more accurately than has been done heretofore. The results are conveniently

tabulated. — Several valuable studies deal with the language of Ambrose. Those of Sister *Adams* and Sister *Barry* show once more how closely he was dependent on classical models. Sister *Martin* has laboriously investigated his use of indirect discourse from an examination of all his works, and has given the evidence in full. — *Huhn* shows that *sacramentum* is, with a single exception, used by Ambrose as signifying a religious act (*mysterium*). The excellent essay is preliminary to a comprehensive work on Ambrose's doctrine of sacraments, planned by the author. — According to *Albers*, the address *De excessu fratris sui Satyri* is to be classified, not as λόγος παραμυθικός (so *Rozynski*), but as *μουῶδία*. It follows classical models throughout. — Very interesting is the apparently unimpeachable proof, worked out by *Caspar* and *Michaels* independently, that the celebrated address of Pope Liberius at the consecration of Marcellina is not by the Pope, but is a literary production of Ambrose. — *Ramatschi's* conclusions are a fresh illustration of the almost slavish dependence of Ambrose in theology on his Greek models, Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril of Jerusalem, Basil, Epiphanius, and Didymus.

ARNOBIUS. Regarding the worthy African apologist, not much that is new remains to be said. *Gabarro*, however, depicts his personality against the African background rather well, and contributes something on the question of his literary sources. He accepts the acquaintance of Arnobius with Cornelius Labeo. More important is his investigation of the language of Arnobius, although here he had predecessors, some of whom (*Koffmane*, *Löffstedt*, *Brakman*) he does not know or at least does not use. For students of *africitas* his collections are certainly of value.

ARNOBIUS JUNIOR. *Levison* has made an important identification. Through a detailed comparison of the works of Arnobius Junior with the *Acta Sylvestri* which form the first part of the so-called Donation of Constantine, he proves indisputably that Arnobius was the author of this first draft of the legend of Sylvester. — The investigations of Miss *Monachesi* are similar. She makes the suggestion that Arnobius Junior may be the author of one of the *Passiones*, for instance the *Passio S.*

Sebastiani, or the orthodox form of the *Passio S. Thomae*. *Morin* asks further proof of this, and prefers to suppose that Arnobius Junior knew the *Passio S. Sebastiani*.

AUSONIUS. Of Ausonius, the Gallic rhetorician and poet (about 395; MSL 19, 817 ff.), the histories of literature say that, although he professed Christianity outwardly, the spirit of his writings was more pagan than Christian. *Pattist* makes more of the Christian element, and also gives new suggestions as to the chronology of his poems.

BACCHIARIUS. *Bover* offers new reasons for identifying Bacchiarius with Peregrinus Episcopus. — It is generally considered that *De fide* of Bacchiarius (MSL 20, 1019 ff.) is dependent on Rufinus, but *Duhr* would reverse the relation, and says that *De fide* must have been written before 383-384.

BENEDICT. *Chapman's* book is based upon thorough investigation and deserves the attention of scholars. The essays composing it are grouped around the question, for whom and why did Benedict write his Rule. The usual answer, for Monte Cassino, and the reasons given for it do not satisfy this author. He maintains that the Rule was intended in Benedict's mind and purpose for the whole world of western monasticism. In view of the fact that the Rule only gradually came into general use, this may be questioned, but Chapman's individual observations are all the more valuable. For instance, he points out that the evident connection between the Rule and Justinian's monastic legislation can only be explained by the use of the Rule in the emperor's *novellae*. This makes it necessary to put back the date of the formation of the Rule to about 525, but, aside from the Cassinensian tradition, there are no facts which make any difficulty about this date. All the dates of Benedict's life are uncertain, as Chapman once more points out. He agrees with *Salvatorelli* in assuming that Benedict must have died, not in 543, but several years later. That Cassiodorus was acquainted with the Rule is made at least probable by Chapman's discussion. This is now admitted also by *Butler*, who formerly opposed the idea. — *Salvatorelli* gives a life-like picture of Benedict and his world. Though his work is not uncritical, the author is too much inclined to follow the story

as told by Gregory the Great, the legendary character of whose Dialogues Salvatorelli himself admits. — Their untrustworthiness as an historical source is again strongly emphasized by *Schrörs*. *Morin* tries to break down this argument. He further maintains the markedly personal character of Benedict's Rule, against *Schrörs*, who holds it to be a compilation of older pieces from which, in any case, nothing can be learned of the individual character of Benedict. — *Albers* and *Capelle* give many examples of the great influence on Benedict of Cassian's Rule. — On the other hand, according to *Lambolt*, the so-called Rule of Augustine, compiled on the basis of Epistle 211, was not known to Benedict. *Morin* (RBd sup 2, 209) has proved that in the seventh chapter of the Rule the words *mortem iuxta introitum delectationis posuit* come from the Acts of St. Sebastian (MSL 17, 1027 D; see p. 274, above). Such trifles should not be overlooked.

COMMODIAN. Scholars have been agreed since Brewer (1906) that the scanty information about Commodian's life which can be gleaned from his writings, as well as the form and contents of the writings themselves, favor a date in the fifth century, not the third, as was formerly thought. *Brakman* shares this opinion. — *Gasperetti* would at least keep to Africa as Commodian's home, but is not likely to find followers.

CYPRIAN. *Koch* is known as one of the best equipped scholars in early Christian Latin literature; especially Tertullian and Cyprian he knows as do few others. His method is trustworthy, avoiding rash notions, although many of his views remain only hypotheses. His Untersuchungen named in the bibliography, taken with his scattered articles, cover all the literary questions which arise in connection with Cyprian's works. Some special conclusions deserve mention here. The treatise *Quod idola dii non sint* bears, according to *Koch*, such evident traces of Cyprian's manner that the generally accepted theory of its spuriousness (so even *D' Alès*; see below) must be abandoned. *Koch* places the work at the beginning of Cyprian's period of authorship. *De lapsis* and *De ecclesiae unitate* (not catholicae ecclesiae according to *Koch*) were written before Cyprian's return to Carthage after being in hiding; the differences in the



form of the text, especially chapter 4, he is inclined, like Chapman, to ascribe to a double recension by the author himself. *De zelo et livore* belongs in the second half of 251 or in 252. *De opere et eleemosynis* is from the time of the pestilence (so also *Wohleb*); *Ad Fortunatum* and *Ad Quirinum* were written on the eve of the persecution under Gallus, in 253. The third book of *Ad Quirinum* is genuine, as *Wohleb* also thinks, but he is wrong, in Koch's view, in making it the first book. Koch's evidence regarding the relation of Cyprian to Seneca and Apuleius is important. He makes some contributions also to the subject of the pseudo-cyprian writings. *Adversus aleatores* was written in Africa after Cyprian's time by a Catholic bishop. *De laude martyrii* is not by Novatian, as Harnack held, perhaps not at all by anyone holding an ecclesiastical office; *Ad Novatianum* is not by Sixtus II (so Harnack and *D'Alès* [see p. 289, *below*]) but by some unknown African; *De singularitate clericorum* is not by Macrobius (Harnack, Morin) but by an unknown African of the third century (so *Schepens* also); Cyprian's writings were used in these works. Koch stoutly defends the view that the early Christian literature in Greek was not unknown to Cyprian. *Lebreton* disputes this as to Origen. In one chapter of Koch's *Untersuchungen*, treating of the question of penance in Cyprian, he supplements his earlier discussion (see my article, 1921, p. 366) and sets forth convincingly the changes in Cyprian's own position. — *Boutet* discusses the treatises *Ad Donatum*, *Quod idola*, and *Ad Quirinum*, but I have not seen his book. — *D'Alès* is known to his fellow scholars by his portrayals of the theologians, Tertullian and Hippolytus. His monograph on Cyprian is a worthy successor to these. It deals with the Foundation of Doctrine (Scripture and Tradition), God and Man, Church Sacraments, Christian Living. Literary questions also are touched upon, with special care, that of the text of *De ecclesiae unitate*, on which *d'Alès* agrees with Chapman in opposing the theory of interpolation (see Koch). *D'Alès* considers *Quod idola* not genuine (see Koch). — *Gradenwitz*, too, rejects the interpolation theory for *De ecclesiae unitate*, — *Watson* did not need to defend the theory that *De habitu virginum* belongs at the

beginning of Cyprian's writing, for no competent scholar doubts it.<sup>14</sup>

DECRETUM GELASIANUM. According to *Schwartz*, we have in the first part of the Decretum, which tradition ascribes to a synod under Damasus, a genuine official document of the Roman Church of 381.

DONATISTS. Among the *fragmenta historica* of Hilary is a circular letter of the Council of Sardica, addressed by the semiarian group of bishops to all the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of the Catholic Church. *Achelis* proves it to be a Donatist forgery of the time between 397 and 406.

FERRANDUS AND FULGENTIUS. *Krüger's* position, that the Vita of Fulgentius was written by his deacon Ferrandus has not been disputed. The same is true of his view that Fulgentius died in 532, not 531, and that he is not to be identified with the mythographer of the same name. Starting with this hypothesis, *Laistner* investigates the survival of the two Fulgentii in the Carolingian age. The influence especially of the bishop is, however, greater than the present writer (*Schanz-Krüger*, §1234) has been willing to admit. — *Nisters*, after careful consideration, has come to the same conclusion. He has also made it seem probable from internal evidence that *De trinitate* belongs to the beginning of Fulgentius's literary activity. The main part of his excellent study is a detailed account of the christological views of this celebrated defender of orthodoxy in the 6th century. — *Lapeyre's* biography, which I have not seen, is called "conscientious" in the RBd, which especially mentions that it is provided with many illustrative examples from archaeology and general history. Like *Stiglmayr* (see p. 188, *above*), he considers Fulgentius to be the author of *Quicumque vult*. On his edition of the Vita, see page 265, *above*.

FIRMICUS. Morin's thesis (see my article, 1921, p. 333) that Firmicus was the author of the *Consolationes Zacchaei* has already been questioned by Reatz (*ibid.*). *Batiffol* doubts it, but the *Revue bénédictine* defends it vigorously. Morin had also thought it possible, in view of the many points of contact, that

<sup>14</sup> On *Beck's* "Römisches Recht bei Tertullian und Cyprian" and *Koch's* "Cathedra Petri," see Tertullian, pp. 291 f., *below*.

Firmicus wrote the canon of the Roman mass. Here, too, Batiffol is heard in opposition, while *Franses* agrees unconditionally.

GREGORY OF ELIBERIS. *Koch* raises objections against ascribing to Gregory the Tractatus de libris sanctarum scripturarum which passes under the name of Origen. *Wilmart* refutes his doubts. The present writer also finds it impossible to follow *Koch* in this case. (In the meantime, *Koch* has withdrawn his opposition; see his article in ZKG 51, 1932, 238-272.) — *Vaccari's* article deals with the pseudohieronymian De diversis generibus leprarum, which he assigns to Gregory of Eliberis on the ground of the kinship between this piece and the Tractate just mentioned. *Wilmart* expresses well-founded doubts.

GREGORY THE GREAT. *Batiffol's* biography of the great pope was the last work of this industrious and productive historian, who died in 1929. It is written with much sympathy, but contains almost nothing that is new, so that for scholarly purposes it makes hardly any contribution.

HILARY OF ARLES. The common assumption that the author of the Vita Hilarii was Hilary's pupil, Honoratus, presbyter in Marseilles, *Kolon* show to be uncertain. He is inclined to give the preference to the statement of a Codex Arelatensis which names as author a certain Reverentius (probably a pseudonym). In his book he includes a good analysis of the Vita and instructive observations on its literary type, which he decides is that of an epideictic encomium.

JEROME. The year 1920, when the Catholic world was commemorating the fifteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of Saint Jerome, brought us a great number of books and articles. Hence the scholarly harvest in the decade we are now considering is but scanty. Since Grützmacher's biography (1901-1908), *Cavallera's* book is the first comprehensive work on Jerome. He has been able to use the newly discovered and certainly genuine letters from the last period of Jerome's life as well as valuable specialized investigations of recent decades. The first volume contains the biography, the second, investigations of the chronology of details in the life of the saint and of his works. In general outline, *Cavallera* differs little from

Grützmacher. The chief value of the work lies in the re-examination of the latter's conclusions, demonstrating the trustworthiness of his work — a happy result. In *Leclercq's* presentation, succinct but full of matter, *Forget* praises especially the skillful psychological analysis. — On the dates of Jerome's life we are in general well informed through tradition, but the precise location of his birthplace, Stridon, in Dalmatia, is not certain. *Bulich* would place it near Grahovo in Croatia, *Vaccari* nearer Aquileia, *Morin* and *Cavallera* between Aquileia and Haemonia. — On Jerome's exegesis of Genesis, see *Cavallera*, page 258, *above*. — *Bardy* shows that the *Indiculus de haeresibus*, which goes under the name of Jerome, must come from the early years of the fifth century.

LACTANTIUS. *Roller* shows that in *De mortibus persecutorum* Lactantius used a history of the years 303–313 written by a pagan, who viewed politics from the standpoint of the Roman aristocracy and was a bitter foe of the Diocletianic-Galerian dynasty. — *Borleffs* again breaks a lance to prove that this treatise is not genuine, and gives reasons which deserve examination. — *Brewer* says that *De ave Phoenice* must have been composed after 387 (dependence on Ambrose) and before 405 (used by Claudian). — *Rossetti* regards *De opificio Dei* as directed chiefly against the Epicureans (Lucretius). The sources (Cicero, Varro, and Seneca) are carefully pointed out.

MAXIMINUS. According to *Capelle* (see p. 267, *above*) the Homilies are probably the only important monument that we possess of the piety of the semi-arian communities on the Danube.

MINUCIUS FELIX. The vexed question of priority between Minucius and Tertullian still disturbs investigators, but *Capelle* (RBd sup 1, 293) is certainly right in saying, "This question threatens to take its place among the annoying and insoluble problems which rouse the passions of a certain kind of curious investigators." As the present writer has often (most recently in Schanz-Krüger, §656) declared for the priority of Minucius, he naturally welcomes so exhaustive a defence of this position, taking note of even the smallest argument of the opponents, as that of *Baylis*. But even this does not settle



the question, for there is no new material to be brought forward. A comparison of the results reached by the works named in the bibliography shows that for the moment the balance inclines in favor of the priority of Minucius. Besides Baylis, *Borleffs*, *Dennis*, *Hinnisdaels* (with admirable discussions), *Reinach*, and *Waltzing* all declare themselves for him, while *Baehrens* and *Goetz* are doubtful and *Wageningen* and *Heinze* (the latter, since 1906, known as a champion of this view) enter the lists for Tertullian. *Gudeman* assumes a common source but is inclined to consider Minucius the earlier of the two writers.

NICETA. *Burn*, who in 1905 published the works of Niceta for the first time, now returns to his old love and sketches a graphic picture of the life work of the man who is generally recognized as the author of *Te deum laudamus*. *Morin* reminds him that the *Regula Benedicti*, chapter 11, should have been mentioned among the *testimonia* for the hymn.

NOVATIAN. To his work on Cyprian *D'Alès* has added a monograph on Novatian, and here too there are many literary questions to settle. That *De spectaculis* and *De bono pudicitiae* come from Novatian he recognizes as the result of investigation. *Ad Novatianum* he follows Harnack in claiming for Sixtus II (see p. 284 f., *above*, Koch). Novatian's doctrine receives careful exposition.

OPUS IMPERFECTUM. *Morin* gives further proofs that this incompletely preserved commentary on the Gospel of Matthew was composed by an Arian bishop in Northern Italy or Illyria, not earlier than the 6th century.

OROSIUS. To a careful elucidation of the anti-priscillianist writings of Orosius and Augustine, *David's* has prefixed a comprehensive account of the history and doctrine of the Priscillianists which is not to be overlooked as a convenient and critically written assemblage of the material. But does the author really believe that any one, for the sake of a subject relatively so unimportant, will plow through three hundred pages of Latin?

PEREGRINATIO EGERIAE. The pilgrimage to Palestine of Egeria has found a sympathetic commentator in *Bludau*, the

learned bishop of Ermland. Chiefly noteworthy is his explanation of the portions of the work which refer to the liturgical practices in Jerusalem. Along with Bludau, one should read the critical comments of *Koch*. The name Aetheria which Bludau uses in his title does not correspond with the fact (see page 270, *above*). *Jarecki* convincingly collects the arguments for the years 392–395 as the date of the Pilgrimage, which he calls Silvania.

**TERTULLIAN.** The number of recent works on Tertullian shows that the writings of the gifted African still provide a fruitful field for investigation. *Teeuwen* has drawn up an impressive series of examples showing how words from the Old Testament, from legal and military language and other sources, received, through Tertullian, new meanings under the influence of Christian thought and feeling. *Capelle* justly points out that Teeuwen has neglected to mention one important factor in the change, namely the Latin translation of the Bible, important whether Tertullian already had it or not. — *Lortz's* huge book on Tertullian as apologist would be more effective if he had not introduced at intolerable length a perfectly trite account of the whole of Christian apologetics before Tertullian. He shows good command of the subject, but even the parts that deal with Tertullian ought to have been much condensed. *Rütten's* comment is deserved: "In the overgrown thicket of words, the good ideas run a fair chance of suffocation." — Whether *De Vries's* study of Tertullian's psychology really advances knowledge, I have not been able to learn even from *Krämer's* long-winded review, but it would seem that De Vries repeats much that is already familiar. — *Brandt* seeks to contribute to our understanding of Tertullian's system of fundamental principles, measuring them by the standard of Paul's conceptions of God, faith and justification. Whether he unduly restricts the independence of the African writer's ethical ideas, I will not discuss, but at any rate Brandt tries to understand Tertullian from his own utterances. After Tertullian's own example (*Virg.* vel. 16), the subject is divided into ethical considerations *secundum naturam*, *secundum scripturam*, and *secundum disciplinam*. *Natura* and *scriptura* furnish the main

principles of Tertullian's ethics; in *disciplina* are wrought out the particular decisions of life, — attitude toward the world, toward calling, toward the church, toward the ascetic life. — An important addition to our knowledge of the personalities of Tertullian and Cyprian has been made by *Beck*. He is not a theologian and approaches his subject with the eyes of a jurist. But he is also well acquainted with theological literature, including the most recent. He proves conclusively that Tertullian's knowledge of the law far surpasses that of an average advocate, and he has therefore no doubt of his identity with the jurist of the Pandects bearing the same name. In his useful tables of the expressions in Tertullian exhibiting juristic rhetoric, even those who know his writings well will be surprised at the number of technical expressions from private, criminal, and public law that Tertullian had at his command. It is instructive to see, from the confrontation of Cyprian and Tertullian, how the former, though he does not write like a professional jurist, shows in his whole manner of thought and expression, that even if he himself held no public office before he became a Christian, yet he must at least have come from a family in which the tradition of public office was strong. The legal expressions from Cyprian's writings are also tabulated by Beck. — Finally I will call attention to a controversy which, it is true, has a range far beyond the bounds of this survey, extending into the history of the Roman claim of primacy. A reason for touching on it here is that because of it certain much-discussed passages of Tertullian and Cyprian have had to be examined over again with particular thoroughness. Scholars have long believed that Bishop Callistus was the first to apply Jesus's promise in Matthew 16, 18 f. specifically to himself as the successor of Peter, and so to all bishops of Rome. *Caspar* endeavors to disprove this idea, and says that the appeal to the scriptural passage was not brought into the debate from Rome, but by Tertullian, and put by him into the mouth of his opponent. *Krüger* would assent to this, but *Koch* still holds that in Tertullian's appeal to the passage the echo of an argument on the part of Rome must be heard. The star witness for both sides is chapter 21 of Tertullian's *De pudicitia*, with the mocking

allusion to an *edictum peremptorium* of an unnamed bishop, whom the majority of scholars (but not *Galtier*) take to be Callistus. The chief difficulty lies in the explanation of the words *omnis ecclesia Petri propinqua*, where it is disputed whether *propinqua* is to be understood to mean 'near in space' (so *Caspar* and *Harnack*, the latter with some very dubious combinations) or 'spiritually near' (so *Koch* and *Krüger*).<sup>15</sup> If the second interpretation is the right one, it carries with it the result that the phrase cannot have been coined to mean specifically Rome, and that from the whole argument as resumed by Tertullian only the power of the keys of bishops in general, not that of the bishop of Rome as super-bishop, can be deduced. Koch, both in his explanation of Tertullian and in connection with the passages of Cyprian that are adduced in support of the Roman primacy, shows his extraordinary knowledge of the use of words and even more of the vocabulary, of the two writers. Especially telling is his discussion of *matrix et radix catholicae ecclesiae*. That the usual interpretation which takes this as of the Roman Church as mother of the churches finds no support in the whole body of early Christian literature and can be read into Cyprian only by a misunderstanding seems now to be established beyond a doubt.

#### C. AUGUSTINE

##### (a) *Texts*

GENERAL. *Miscellanea Agostiniana*. Testi e studi pubblicati a cura dell'ordine Eremitano di S. Agostino nel XV. centenario dalla morte del Santo Dottore. Vol. I: *Sancti Augustini Sermones post Maurinos reperti*. Studio ac diligentia D. *Germani Morin*, D.S.B. Rome, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1930. xi, 847 pp. [*D. de Bruyne*, RHE 27, 1931, 371-374; *G. Krüger*, ThLZ 57, 1932, 388-391; *P. Peeters*, AB 49, 1931, 146-149.] Vol. II: *Studi Agostiniani*. *Ibid.*, 1931, 1042 pp. [*D. de Bruyne*, RHE 28, 1932, 109-112.] — \**Miscellanea Augustiniana*. *Mélanges publiés par la province hollandaise des Augustins*. Nimègue, 1930. — *De Vreese, W.*, *Sant Augustinus in het*

<sup>15</sup> The controversy is continued in the articles of *Walther Köhler* (*Omnis ecclesia Petri propinqua*, ZNW 31, 1932, 60-67), who takes the words as indicating the Roman Church, because she is in possession of St. Peter's tomb and therefore "near" to him, and *Hugo Koch* (*ibid.*, 68-72), who holds to his opinion. See also, *Barnhard Poschmann*, *Ecclesia principalis*. Breslau, Franke, 1933. 106 pp.



Middelnederlandsch uit de Bibliotheca Neerlandica manuscripta (Misc. August. 431-473). — *De Ghellinck, J.*, L'édition de saint Augustin par les Mansistes (MRTh 57, 1930, 746-774). — *Jugie, M.*, S. Augustin dans la littérature de l'église russe (ÉO 33, 1930, 385-395). — *Lagrange, Marie-Josèphe*, Les rétractations exégétiques de saint Augustin (Misc. Agost. 2, 378-395). — *\*Lowe, Elia A.*, A List of the Oldest Extant Manuscripts of St. Augustine, with a Note on the Codex Bambergensis (Misc. Agost. 2, 235-231). — *Rackl, Michael*, Die griechischen Augustinus-Uebersetzungen (Miscellanea für F. Ehrle 1, 1-38). 1924. — *Wilmart, André*, La tradition des grands ouvrages de S. Augustin (Misc. Agost. 2, 257-315).

CONTRA ACADEMICOS. . . . *\*Knöll, Pius*, ed., Sancti Augustini Opera. Ser. III. Pars I: Contra academicos libri tres; De beata vita liber unus; De ordine libri duo (CSEL 63). Vienna-L., Tempsky, 1922. xxxi, 219 pp. [RBd sup 1, 196.]

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. *\*Christopher, Joseph Patrick*, Sancti Aurelii Augustini De catechizandis rudibus liber unus. Translated, with an introduction and commentary (PSt 8). W., 1926. xxi, 368 pp. [*C. Weyman*, PhW 47, 1927, 1291 ff.; *A. E. Burn*, ChQR 107, 1927, 374 ff.; *J. Forget*, RHE 23, 1927, 565 f.; *W. P. H. Kitchen*, ChR 7, 1927, 528 ff.; *A. Souter*, JThSt 28, 1927, 445 f.] — *Souter, Alexander*, Notes on the "De Catechizandis Rudibus" (Misc. Agost. 2, 252-255). [Remarks about the text from Cod. Mus. Brit. Add. 14784, saec. XII.] — *Wilmart, A.*, Manuscrits de "De catechizandis rudibus" (RBd 42, 1930, 263 ff.).

DE CIVITATE DEI. *\*Dombart, Bernhard*, and *Kalb, A.*, edd., Augustinus. De civitate dei. 4th edition. 2 vols. L., Teubner, 1928, 1929. xxiv, 599; xxi, 635 pp. [RBd sup 2, 63.] — *\*Welldon, J. E. C.*, ed., S. Augustini De civitate dei contra paganos. With introduction and appendices. 2 vols. Lond., S.P.C.K., 1924. lxi, 518; 797 pp. [*A. Souter*, Class. Rev. 39, 1925, 135-137; *H. v. Soden*, ThLZ 50, 1925, 254 f.] — *Weyman, Carl*, ed., Sancti Aurelii Augustini De civitate dei libri XXII. M., Bremer Presse, 1925. xxxii, 607 pp. [De luxe edition.]

CONFESSIONS. *Colombo, Sisto*, S. Agostino. Confessioni VIII, 2 (Did n.s. 7, 1929, 17-22). — *\*Gibb, John*, and *Montgomery, W.*, edd. The Confessions of St. Augustine. 2nd edit. (CPT). C. University Press, 1927. lxxv, 479 pp. [*G. Krüger*, ThLZ 52, 1927, 417; *A. Souter*, JThSt 28, 1927, 444; *B. Capelle*, RBd sup 1, 606.] — *\*Labriolle, P. de*, S. Augustin. Les confessions. Texte établi et traduit. P., Les Belles-Lettres, 1925-1926. xxxi, 412 pp. [*B. Capelle*, RBd sup 1, 605.] — *Schröder, Alfred*, Zum Text der Augustinischen Konfessionen 9, 8. Dillingen, Schröder, 1929. 16 pp. [Knöll, p. 212, l. 7, read: *propositos*; 213, l. 1: *ordinans*.] — *\*Skutella, F.*, Der Handschriftenbestand der Confessiones Sancti Augustini (RBd 42, 1930, 205-209). — *\*Vaccari, Alberto*, Un passo disperato nelli Confessioni di S. Agostino (Did n.s. 2, 1924, fasc. 2, 3-9). [Conf. 8, 3. RBd sup 1, 435.] — *\*Vega, A. C.*, Entorno a un enigma de las Confessiones (Religion y Cultura 10, 1930, 260-265). [Conf. 8, 3. RBd sup 2, 259; \*ed., S. Aurelii Augustini Confessio-

num libri XIII. Escorial, 1930. xxviii, 495 pp. — \**Wilmart, A.*, Les manuscrits des Confessions de S. Augustin (RBd 41, 1929, 325-332).

DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA. \**Sullivan, Sister Thérèse B. S.*, Sancti Augustini. . . De Doctrina Christiana, Liber IV. Text, translation, commentary (PSt 23). W., 1930. xiv, 205 pp. — \**Vogels, H. J.*, ed., S. Aurelii Augustini. . . De doctrina christiana libros quatuor (FP 24). Bonn, Hanstein, 1930. vi, 103 pp.

ENCEHEIRIDION. \**Scheel, Otto*, ed., Augustins Encheiridion (SQ 2, 4). 2nd edit. Tübingen, Mohr, 1920. vi, 98 pp.

LETTERS. \**Baxter, J. H.*, St. Augustine: Select Letters. With an English Translation. Lond., Heinemann, 1930. lii, 535 pp. [*A. Souter*, JThSt 32, 1931, 421; *D. de Bruyne*, RBd sup 2, 300]; On a Place in St. Augustine's Rule (JThSt 23, 1922, 189 f.). [Epist. 2114, *Goldbacher*, p. 35813 (see below), read "Donatistis" instead of "Deo natis." See *D. de Bruyne*, RBd sup 1, 116.] — *Casamassa, Agostino*, Il più antico codice della regola monastica di sant' Agostino (Atti della pontificia Accademia romana di archaeologia, ser. III. Rendiconti I, 95-105). [Cod. Par. Bibl. Nat. 12634. RBd sup 1, 496.] — \**De Bruyne, Donatien*, Notes sur les lettres de saint Augustin (RHE 28, 1927, 523-530); Les anciennes collections et la chronologie des lettres de saint Augustin (RBd 43, 1931, 284-295). — \**Goldbacher, August*, Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera. Sect. II. Pars V: Epistolae. Praefatio, Indices (CSEL 58). Vienna-L., Tempsky, 1923. c, 426 pp. [*J. H. Baxter* JThSt. 26, 1925, 213 ff.; *C. Weyman*, HJG 44, 1924, 256 f.; *D. de Bruyne*, RHE 23, 1927, 523-530; RBd sup 1, 490.] — \**Lietzmann, Hans*, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Briefsammlung Augustins (AAB 1930, 356-388). B., De Gruyter. [*A. Souter*, JThSt 32, 1931, 188; *C. Lambot*, RHE 28, 1932, 359 sqq.] — \**Schmaus, Michael*, ed., S. Aurelii Augustini. . . Liber de videndo Deo, seu Epistula 147 (FP 23). Bonn, Hanstein, 1930. 34 pp. — \**Schmid, Joseph*. SS. Eusebii Hieronymi et Augustini epistulae mutuae (FP 22). Bonn, Hanstein, 1930. iv, 128 pp. — *Sizoo, A.*, Augustiniana (Mnem 57, 1929, 125-130). [Textual criticism of the Letters. RBd sup 2, 132.]

DE OCTO QUAESTIONIBUS. \**De Bruyne, Donatien*, De octo quaestionibus ex veteri testamento un écrit authentique d'Augustin (Misc. Agost. 2, 327-340).

SERMONS. *Cavallera, Ferdinand*, Notes chronologiques et hagiographiques sur quelques sermons de S. Augustin (BLE 31, 1930, 21-30). — *Mersch, E.*, Une leçon défectueuse dans le texte des "Enarrationes in Psalmos" de saint Augustin (RSR 16, 1926, 504-512). — *Wilmart, André*, Remarques sur plusieurs collections des sermons de s. Augustin (Casinensia 1, 217-241). Monte Cassino, 1929. [RBd sup. 2, 351]; Allocution de saint Augustin sur la vigile pascalle et compléments des sermons sur l'Alléluia (RBd 42, 1930, 136-142); Le sermon de saint Augustin sur les prédicateurs de l'évangile (*ibid.*, 301-315). [Critical edition of Sermo CI of the Benedictines. RBd 2, 251.]

GENERAL.<sup>16</sup> To the centennial celebration of the death of St. Augustine (Aug. 28, 430) we owe five extensive and valuable collections of papers. Three of them (*Études*, *Festschrift*, *Monument*, see *Doctrine*, p. 303) are chiefly or entirely of a theological character and will be commented on later (pp. 314 ff.). The other two contain many contributions of a literary nature and belong here. The *Miscellanea Agostiniana* is issued by the central body of the Augustinian Order in Rome, and the editor, though his name does not appear on the title pages, is P. Antonio Casamassa, General Oeconomus of the Order and professor of patrology at Santa Monica in Rome. *Morin's* edition of the *Sermones* in the first volume is discussed below (p. 299). The second volume opens with the encyclical in which Pope Pius XI honors the greatest of the saints of the church. With it is given a reproduction of the figure in fresco on a wall beneath the chapel *Sancta Sanctorum*, opposite the Lateran, which in all probability is the oldest portrait of Augustine and of the 5th or 6th century. The well-known archaeologist Joseph Wilpert adds explanations. The separate papers, some of them fairly to be called monographs, are noticed under their respective headings below. — A parallel undertaking to the *Miscellanea Agostiniana* is the *Miscellanea Augustiniana* issued by the Dutch province of the Order, which unfortunately I have not seen. — *Lowe* has drawn up a list of the manuscripts of Augustine's works, from the 5th to the 9th century, arranged in the alphabetical order of the libraries. — *Wilmart* gives complete statements about the manuscripts of the *Confessions* (258; see *Skutella* and *Wilmart*, below), of *De trinitate* (233), of *De civitate dei* (375) and of the *Enarrationes in psalmos* (368; see *de Bruyne*, below).

CONTRA ACADEMICOS. With the growing interest in Augustine's philosophical writings composed at Cassiciacum, the need has long been felt for some work on the text later than

<sup>16</sup> For other notices about Augustine, see *Hermann Dörries*, *Fünfzehn Jahre Augustin-Forschung* (*Theologische Rundschau* n. s. 1, 1929, 217-245); *Gustav Krüger*, *Neuere Augustinliteratur* (*ZKG* 49, 1930, 494-501); *Engelbert Krebs*, *Neuere Augustinusliteratur* (*ThR* 31, 1932, 49-53; 97-106; 137-143). I have included in my notice the second volume of the *Miscellanea Agostiniana*, published only in 1931, because the two volumes are indivisible.

that of the Benedictines. This need is now met, at least in part, by *Knöll's* edition. For *De beata vita* the construction of the text was easy, since Cod. Ambros. M67 (saec. X-XI) is a trustworthy guide. *Contra Academicos* and *De ordine* presented more difficulty, since they are preserved only in mediocre manuscripts. *Knöll* seems to have used good judgment in general, but the critic in the *Revue bénédictine* notes some clear instances of too much weight assigned to Cod. Paris. 13369 (saec. IX).

DE CATECHIZANDIS RUDIBUS. The textual tradition of this little book is so good that the Benedictines' edition remains the standard. *Christopher* prints their text from my edition (SQ 4, 1909) practically unchanged. The value of his work lies in the excellent commentary, in which questions both of language and of content are fully and carefully dealt with.

DE CIVITATE DEI. *Dombart's* edition, which is considered better than that of Hoffmann in CSEL, is now issued for the fourth time. The anastatic reprint can have no change in the text, but *Kalb* has adduced in the apparatus new and important readings from several manuscripts, so that his prolegomena are now the best source of information on the present state of the textual criticism. — Little good can be said of *Welldon's* amateurish edition. Its defects are clearly pointed out by *von Soden*.

CONFESSIONS. In the case of the Confessions, the textual problem is more difficult and keeps the editors continually occupied. *Knöll* (CSEL 1896; Bibliotheca Teubneriana 1898) vigorously championed the Codex Sessorianus, which stands by itself over against the others, and *Gibb* and *Montgomery* (first edition 1908) agreed with him. Then *de Labriolle*, with equal emphasis, revived the claims of the earlier view, represented by the Benedictines, which preferred the other line of tradition. In not less than 180 places, *Labriolle* corrects *Knöll's* text. *Montgomery*, to be sure, who after the death of *Gibb* brought out the second edition of their valuable work, is not convinced by *Labriolle*. In these circumstances it is of real interest that *Capelle* now points out an almost incomprehensible sin of omission on the part of all previous editors. Neither



Montgomery nor Labriolle paid any attention to the excerpts from the Confessions in Eugippius, whose text rests on a thoroughly trustworthy tradition. It now appears that Eugippius always has the reading opposed to the Sessorianus when that is supported by all the other manuscripts, but that he agrees with the Sessorianus when the opposing reading is represented by only a part of the other manuscripts. Whatever the explanation, we certainly have here a safe criterion for determining the text also in the parts not transmitted by Eugippius. — The energy of *Skutella*, who is editing the work for the Bibliotheca Teubneriana, is manifest from the fact that he has added 40 to the 203 manuscripts mentioned in *Wilmart's* list. Even this does not exhaust the enormous mass of material, for *Wilmart* (see GENERAL, *above*) has in his turn added another fifteen to *Skutella's* list. — According to *Capelle* in the *Revue bénédictine*, the best text at present is that of *Vega*, but *Wilmart* (Misc. Agost. 2, 592) questions this, saying that *Vega's* edition contains many misprints. That some of the corruptions defy even the most ingenious conjecture is shown by *Vaccari's* and *Vega's* fruitless struggles with the riddle of *popiliosam* (*Vaccari*: *porde pelusiam*; *Vega*: *Populoniam*) in Conf. 8, 3.

DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA. Strangely enough, there had never been a separate edition of this important work until *Vogels's* unassuming volume was issued. In default as yet of a critical edition in CSEL, he has not investigated the manuscripts, but gives a good deal from the notes of the Benedictines and from the excerpts in Eugippius. — Sister *Sullivan*, for her edition of the fourth book, has collated the most important manuscripts from photographs, and beside the translation which accompanies her text and an excellent apparatus, she adds a commentary like that of *Gibb* and *Montgomery* on the Confessions.

ENCHEIRIDION. The new issue of *Scheel's* edition is an unchanged reprint of the former one. The introduction is abridged.

LETTERS. After nearly thirty years from the date (1895) of the first volume, *Goldbacher* (†1924) had the satisfaction of seeing his edition of the Letters completed. Whatever faults the critics may find in detail, all agree that it is a great improve-

ment over the Benedictine text. How vast Goldbacher's labors were may be judged from the fact that he consulted no less than 223 manuscripts, from many countries, while the former editors confined themselves to those in Belgian and French libraries. The introduction to the final volume reports in detail on the manuscripts and their relative value. There are also full indices and a chronological table. — *Baxter's* selection is approved by *de Bruyne*, who says it shows a thorough study of Augustine's works. — Very welcome, especially for seminary use, is *Schmid's* arrangement in a single volume of the correspondence between Jerome and Augustine. It is based on the texts of Hilberg and Goldbacher in CSEL, and contains prolegomena and bibliography. — *Schmaus's* edition of Epistle 147, usually cited as *Liber de videndo Deo*, likewise follows the text of CSEL. — The labors of *Lietzmann* and of *de Bruyne* on the history of the manuscript tradition of the Letters deserve particular attention, but the intricacy of the reasoning makes a brief summary almost impossible. Lietzmann formulates the problem: Was Augustine's correspondence collected and published in ancient times, and if so, how was it done? His answer is that there never was a collected edition; what we have is an enormous pile of ruins, overthrown by undiscoverable forces. That Augustine himself published single groups of letters is evident in the case of the correspondence with Nebridius and with Paulinus of Nola, and especially that with Jerome. He made many pieces public because of the special need of the hour, but for the most part they were collected and published by the recipients. In the chronology of the letters Lietzmann follows that of the Benedictines. De Bruyne examines the chronology both in the light of the list of Possidius (see p. 260, *above*) and in that of the old collections. It appears that the list goes back to Augustine's own indiculus, now lost, in which the chronological order was observed and which Possidius generally followed. Further, the large collections are independent of the list but often coincide with it in the arrangement of the letters. It is a reasonable inference that in these cases they depend upon Augustine's own grouping. De Bruyne holds that this criterion makes it possible in many cases to correct the traditional under-

standing of the letters and to assign the rightful place in the whole complex to letters which, for lack of chronological indications, have been difficult to interpret. In the earlier of De Bruyne's articles, which also deserves attention, he illuminates the question of the composition and selection of the letters by Augustine.

DE OCTO QUAESTIONIBUS. In RBd 28, 1911, 1-10, Morin published from a Codex Laureshamensis eight short Old Testament Questions which pass under the name of Augustine and which he thought really to be by him. *De Bruyne* now gives conclusive proof of this, with a new edition.

SERMONS. The commemorative year 1930 saw *Morin's* monumental edition of the sermons unknown to the older Benedictine editors. Of the more than 640 sermons published since their time, only 138, in his competent judgment, pass the acid test of genuineness and have consequently been included in his collected edition. Twenty-three of these come from the Denis collection, nine from Frangipane, seven from Caillau, thirty-two from Mai, one from Liverani, four from the Collectio Casinensis, fifty-one from Morin's various publications,<sup>17</sup> and eleven from those of Wilmart. To include all those that are not genuine in the appendix would have taken too much space, but he has compiled an index of initia with a statement of location and of the reasons for his adverse judgment. For each of the genuine sermons also he gives the reason for its retention. Morin states in the preface that he does not go into details in these questions of genuineness, for experts do not need it and others would not profit by it. The sermons are arranged in the order of the collections. The editor follows these also in the chapter division except where the sections are too long, as in Frangipane, or where the sense seems to require a different division, as in Wilmart. Since all the sermons published by Morin and Wilmart down to 1930 in various periodicals (RBd, JThSt, RAM, and others) are now included in the collected edition,

<sup>17</sup> Among them No. 34 in the Codex Guelferbytanus (Wolfenbüttel) 4096, which Morin published in 1917 in a fine edition now out of print (see my article, 1921, p. 307 f.). At that time he relegated No. 34 to the appendix as doubtful, but he has since become convinced that it is genuine.

I have not listed the separate articles in my bibliography, but *Wilmart's* latest discovery shows that something new may always turn up. To this latter indefatigable investigator and to Morin is chiefly due the sifting of the sermons.

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BIOGRAPHY. *General*. In the introductory remarks I have mentioned the flood of literature poured out in the last decade and especially in 1930, on the life, work, teaching, and influence of Saint Augustine. From the mass of books and articles it is difficult to select those which have lasting interest, and it must be acknowledged that with a few exceptions, such as *Morin's* edition of the Sermons in the Miscellanea Agostiniana, *Holl's* study of Augustine's mental development (p. 309, *below*), and *Gilson's* Introduction (p. 313 f., *below*), all these labors of erudition have produced nothing supremely important. We are still far from possessing a well-rounded, comprehensive exposition of the whole great subject in its many aspects, made with thorough critical learning. At least nothing that deserves that description is known to the present writer. — *Papini's* fluently written book is entertaining, the work not of a professional writer, but a sensible author, who finds the right thing to say in many controversial questions. Especially to be commended in a Catholic is his treatment of Augustine's youthful escapades, in which, as the author well says, "Sex and brain glowed, the one inflamed against the other." — *Krebs* is favorably known in

Germany as a scholar, but his book is disappointing by reason of the edifying cast to satisfy lay readers. — When Miss *Mullany's* title-page describes St. Augustine as “the first modern man,” we are not led to expect much scholarly insight. Such vague phrases ought to be avoided or at least limited to historical fact, as in *Reitzenstein's* characterization of Augustine as an ancient and mediaeval man. — Lectures like those of *Krüger* and *Seeberg*, although the product of assured scholarship, are no substitute for larger works.

*Mental Development.* If we turn from general portrayals to such as deal with Augustine's development, we find some notable contributions. In the foreground is always the problem of the sincerity of the Confessions. Here there appears a characteristic tendency to react against the skepticism with which, in the previous ten years, as a result of the writings of the German, Thimme (1906), and the Frenchman, Alfarié (1918), Augustine's picture of himself in this work had been viewed. Certainly, *Reitzenstein* does not express the present-day position of scholarship when, in his thoughtful essay, he says that all investigators who really know the Letters and other writings contemporary with the conversion are agreed that the picture given in the Confessions is false. We might rather say that the contrary is true. At any rate, scholars who have recently expressed themselves on the problem take the position that the contrast between the Augustine of the early writings and the author of the Confessions has been greatly exaggerated (as by Alfarié) and that the account in the Confessions, in so far as they represent the event at Milan as a decisive crisis, is not to be challenged. Of course no one advocates going back to the pre-critical point of view. It is self-evident that when Augustine wrote the Confessions he must have seen many things in a changed light. But it is inconceivable that, in the full maturity of his powers, memory should have so distorted events as to put at the centre of his development that which in reality lay only on the circumference. This point is well brought out by *Mannucci* in his discreet survey of criticism on the Confessions. Only, one must not approach the work with the assumption that his conversion, in which Augustine saw the decisive



change in the direction of his will and in his course of life, was also a turning point in his philosophy. — Among the works devoted to the problem of the Confessions (*Billicsich, Boyer, de Labriolle, Gros*, and others), that of the Danish scholar *Nørregaard* is not only the most thorough but certainly also the most noteworthy. The book appeared in 1920, and was noticed in my earlier review (1921, p. 330), but the German edition has a special value because the author himself has sponsored it and especially because he has included in it a discussion of *Alfaric's* opposing views. The reviewers criticize *Nørregaard* for not recognizing sufficiently the influence of *Cicero* (on which *Reitzenstein* again vigorously insists), nor that of *Manichaeism*. Also, they refuse to admit that *Augustine* from the beginning adopted the principles of *Neo-platonism* as fully as *Nørregaard*, on the basis of the Confessions, assumes. In any case, his work as a whole is held to lay down the lines for future investigation. — The same is true in greater measure of *Holl's* study. While *Nørregaard* has an eye chiefly to questions connected with the conversion, *Holl* keeps the entire development in view. Like everything which we owe to this master in the study of church history (cut off by an untimely death in 1926), this work shows his extraordinary command of the subject and ripened power of synthesis. *Holl* lays emphasis especially on *Augustine's* close relation to the *fides catholica*, which sustains the new convert and determines the character of the philosophical struggle of his earliest writings, in spite of their tinge of secular philosophy. He goes on to elaborate the progress made in *Augustine's* adjustment of himself with the Church and in his deepening understanding of Holy Scripture. Here the break effected by the influence of *Paul* is made a high point, and the changes are insistently pursued which lead, in the latest works, to the grand culmination of the doctrine of grace. *Holl* closes with the hint that the Catholic Church has always understood *Augustine* better than its opponents, who have treated him as an armory for weapons of controversy. This work requires a thoughtful reader, who knows the subject and is sufficiently well acquainted with the course of past investigation to follow the author critically. The best appreciation is

the review by *Jülicher*. — *Thimme* maintains his critical position with regard to the Confessions, although the contradiction between this work and the early writings now presents itself to him as "largely only apparent." His investigation rests on the method of religious psychology which is now fashionable, but which does not appeal to the present reviewer, at least, as superior to the old way of looking at things. *Thimme's* use of it is indeed prudent, and this distinguishes his work from the attempt of *Achelis* to give an "analysis of Augustine's creative work in the light of his erotic structure," that is, to study Augustine's development with the means of Freudian psychoanalysis. It cannot be denied that Augustine's youth affords considerable basis for this effort, but *Achelis*, who ascribes unlimited validity to Freud's theories, shoots far beyond the mark. — *Schäfer's* analysis of "consciousness of guilt" in the Confessions is an excellent piece of work. Skilfully avoiding the extremes of psychoanalysis, he draws a convincing contrast between consciousness of guilt and guilt itself, and so gains a novel point of view for understanding the Confessions. The part of his work dealing with the controversy as to the value of the Confessions as a biographical source stands with that of *Mannucci* as making the best comprehensive statement at present available. — From the medical side also a psychography of Augustine is offered us. *Legewie* opens with the observation that, in order to make individual psychological portraits, the growth and nature of healthy great personalities must first be studied before the attempt is made to point to pathological symptoms as exhibiting types. With this sound principle as guide, *Legewie* avoids the exaggerations of *Achelis*. His paper in the *Miscellanea Agostiniana* rounds out the subject as sketched in the book into a complete picture. — The talk about a multiplicity of "conversions" (*Miss Peters* distinguishes three: Cicero, Neo-platonism, Church) might well come to an end. It merely confuses plain facts. — *Balogh* points out that in the *tolle, lege* of the garden scene (*Conf.* viii. 12, 29) two portents (*κηρόνες*, *omina*) are combined. Augustine sees in the voice of the children an *omen* which puts into his mind the *sortilegium* by opening the Bible at random. — *Wundt's* view

that Augustine as presbyter (391) made a sharp break with his former philosophical position is adopted by *Dörries* in his analysis of *De vera religione*, but with large reservations. — The need of making greater use of the Letters for an understanding of Augustine's development than is commonly done is emphasized by *Holl*, *Wundt*, and especially *Beyerhaus*. — *Combès* has handled an interesting subject with much skill. The previous studies to which he refers by no means made a new presentation superfluous. In the first of his three sections, the author considers the extent of Augustine's knowledge of classical literature, which brings up the question of his acquaintance with Greek. On this latter point there is still much difference of opinion, although what Augustine himself says gives ground for thinking that he could read and understand Greek, if not without difficulty. This is the conclusion of *Combès* and likewise of *Guilloux*, who rather underrates the facts at hand, and of *Salaville*. *Combès* shows further that Augustine was not content merely to know the works of the ancient writers, but that he shows a real feeling for their esthetic and ethical values. This leads the way to the author's concluding observations on the blending of classical and Christian elements in patristic literature as a whole and in Augustine in particular.

WRITER. *Style and Language*. *Di Capua's* noteworthy essay, beginning with general observations, culminates in an intensive study of the rhythmical clausulae in the whole body of Augustine's writings. With numerous examples he shows how attention to the clausulae is an important aid in determining the true readings. — *Balmus*, a Roumanian educated in Germany but writing in French, also has done an important piece of work on Augustine's style from the point of view of grammar and esthetics, using as a basis the *Confessions* and the *De civitate dei*. The learned author has not been content with dry statistics and tabulations, but makes his subject live. The many-sidedness of his investigation is seen in the titles of the chapters: Choice of words; Order of words; Structure of the phrase; Variety of style; Effort to attain elevation; Oratorical and poetical color. The last chapter espe-

cially contains acute observations of general application. — The investigations of *Reynolds*, *Sister Barry*, and *Sister Parsons*, which proceed from the school of *Deferrari*, are also said to be useful, but the work of *Sister Colbert* is pronounced unsatisfactory by the competent critic *Plasberg*. — Turning to studies of the separate works of *Augustine*, I note first *Gudemán's* hypothesis that the dialogues at Cassiciacum are fictitious in both form and content. His arguments will hardly be accepted, and are, in fact, refuted by *Philippson*. — Not only the biographical trustworthiness of the *Confessions*, but also their specific nature and structure continue to be objects of study. *Zepf* would insert them as a hymn of thanksgiving in the history of the aretalogy which develops gradually into autobiography. He supports this comparative mode of consideration with a large body of material, but the present reviewer must confess that all the attempts to interpret the *Confessions* as "praise to God" (so *Boehmer*, 1915; see my article, 1921, p. 328) and therefore as a "hymn" have grown more and more dubious with the years. This feeling is strengthened by the works of *Williger*, *Wolf*, and *Wundt*, who, each in his own way, try to interpret the term "confession" (*confessio peccati* and *confessio laudis*). These writers have also tried to solve the riddle which the disparity of theme between Books I–X and Books XI–XIII has always presented to students. *Wundt* has had the happy thought of using in explanation the rule which *Augustine* himself gives in the *De catechizandis rudibus* for the instruction of the catechumens. What *Augustine* there requires, namely that the pupil shall be led to recognize the hand of God first in his own life, and then in the Holy Scriptures, he has, it is argued, exemplified in the *Confessions* from his own experience and his own understanding of the Scriptures, in order to convey to the reader the ebb and flow of his own emotions. It is a satisfaction to the present writer to see that the view of the *Confessions* now accepted is that proposed by him more than ten years ago, and but little noticed (*Schanz* — *Krüger* [see p. 179, *above*], § 1162). The first step toward understanding the *Confessions* is to recognize their practical and edifying purpose, the story of *Augustine's* own life having



only the significance of an illustration. In Books XI-XIII, moreover, we must not overlook the fact that it is not so much the exegete who is speaking, but rather the philosopher and theologian, who founds upon the first verses of Genesis his far-reaching thoughts on time and eternity. — *Stiglmayr*, who sees in the composition of the work the fulfilment of a formal vow, presses too much the words *vovere* and *vota* in Conf. xii. 24. — *Wundt*, in his remarks on the chronology of Augustine's writings, starts from the order followed by Augustine himself in his *Retractationes*, and shows that the Benedictines were wrong in departing from it in their dates for the anti-donatist writings of about 400. His argument is approved in RBD, and unsuccessfully opposed by Zepf. — *Kunzelmann's* meritorious work covers all Augustine's sermons, including those recently published by Morin (see p. 299, above). Although, in some particulars, Kunzelmann's views are open to criticism or need to be supplemented (see *de Bruyne*), the work as a whole marks a substantial advance, and more use than hitherto can now be made of the sermons in studying Augustine's teaching. — Sister *Madden* gives a survey of the places, exclusive of *De civitate dei*, in which Augustine treats of the pagan deities. Foot-notes give brief notices of the contents of the texts and their place in the writings, but "no attempt is made to discuss in a detailed manner each fact noted." This potentially useful investigation proves thus only superficial. — *De civitate dei* has lent itself to many types of treatment. The works which discuss it with reference to Augustine's philosophy of history will be considered later (pp. 318 ff.), but there are some essays in literary criticism which belong here. *Fuchs* analyzes Book XIX and compares Augustine's idea of peace with that of classical antiquity. He shows that Varro's lost *Logohistoricus de pace* was Augustine's literary model. — *Leisegang* points out a resemblance to Plotinus, for which Ambrose may be responsible. — *Stegeman* also has studied the intellectual lineage of *De civitate dei* and traces it especially to Cicero and Ambrose.

DOCTRINE. *General.* *Gilson's* discussion of Augustine as theologian and philosopher is of a lofty type. One knows not what to admire most — the light touch with no sacrifice of

thoroughness, the comprehensive acquaintance with the problems and the literature (including that in German), the unobtrusive sureness of judgment, or the distinguished and fair-minded estimate of Augustine's thought as compared with that of other philosophers. The book is the product of lectures delivered in Paris and at Harvard University, to whose professors and students it is dedicated. After an introduction (Blessedness; the Way of the Soul to God), there follow three chapters: (1) The Reason in search of God; (2) The Will in search of God; and (3) The Contemplation of God in his works. The German edition includes as an appendix the article on Augustinianism which Gilson wrote for the Monument (see Influence Bibliography, p. 307, *above*). — The contributions to the three commemorative publications of 1930, the *Études*, the Monument (by English, French, and German scholars), and the *Festschrift* of the Görresgesellschaft, edited by *Grabmann* and *Mausbach*, which also gives the portrait of Augustine, with explanation by Joseph Sauer, will be noted in the appropriate places below. I cannot enter into an account of the contents of these works, nor of the many other publications on Augustine's theology and ethics, both because a large number, especially of the foreign works, have not been accessible to me, and because I am unable to follow completely the often very intricate trains of speculative thought.

EXEGESIS. A great enrichment of our knowledge of Augustine as a textual critic is made by *de Bruyne's* extensive paper. In the case of the Epistles of Paul, the Psalter, the Heptateuch, the Book of Job, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and the Gospels, he shows with what painstaking care Augustine, in the course of years, corrected the text which he worked out on the basis of his own understanding of the Septuagint. The Hebrew text was a closed book to him, and all his life he refused to acknowledge the superiority which Jerome claimed for the *veritas hebraica* over the Septuagint. On details see *Lebbe*. — *Lagrange's* essay may be regarded as supplementary to *de Bruyne's*. — Although the Middle Ages looked upon Augustine in the field of exegesis as a sun among the stars, he has in modern times been less highly regarded as an interpreter of the

Bible than as a philosopher and theologian, and scarcely anything of value has been written on this aspect of his work. — *Vogels*, one of the best students anywhere of the Old Latin Bible and its commentators, admits that Augustine possessed neither the philological equipment nor the acquaintance with history which a competent exegete needs, and that he made unconscious concessions to the allegorical method. Yet he can also admire the exceptional skill of one who could read not only in the book of his own heart, but in another's soul as well, and to whom the reverence and piety with which he approached the Word of God often made possible a deeper insight into the nature of the biblical writers than was vouchsafed to more learned interpreters. — *Comeau's* generously proportioned book is intended to make good the lack noted above, at least for the Gospel of John. — In the exegetical labors which Augustine undertook in the twenty years following his conversion, special interests can be definitely described — express concern about the truth of the biblical presentation without prejudice to a firm belief in the inspiration of the Septuagint. *Cavallera* illustrates this in the different ways in which the two fathers treat the problems of Genesis. — Augustine had a decided preference for the Old Testament, especially Genesis, and a strong tendency to harmonize in his explanation of the gospels. *Allgeier* shows that these traits were much affected by his hostile attitude toward Manichaeism.

PHILOSOPHY. In a very readable article, *Geyser* discusses the growth of Augustine's views on the theory of knowledge as found in his early writings. The topics are: (1) The problems. (2) Knowing and believing. (3) Fourfold conception of truth. (4) Certainty of truth. (5) Knowledge, science, God. — *Jonas's* also is of value, but he has so concealed his thoughts in an almost intolerable jargon, that they are difficult of access. It would be unjust, however, to forget that he gives some stimulating suggestions regarding the changes in Augustine's conceptions, especially as to the origin of *voluntas* and *fides*. — *Schmitt* uses Augustine's early writings to show the high value he set on mathematics for the training of the mind and for the understanding of truth, and the zeal with which he tried to find

the mystical meaning of the numbers in Holy Scripture. He seems not to have known Knappitsch's work (1906) on the same subject. — *Söhngen's* treatise on the formation of Augustine's doctrine of the *memoria* (Conf. x, 6-27) is exceptionally good. I know of no other work which treats this theme with such clarity and thoroughness. — In what *Boyer, de Sinety, Pera, and Woods* have written, we can see how Catholic scholarship seeks to accommodate Augustine's doctrine of creation to the modern doctrine of evolution.

DOGMATICS. *Cayré's* exposition of the Augustinian theory of contemplation adopts, according to *Forget*, the medial position of the view now current in Catholic mysticism. His results may be summed up as follows: (1) *Contemplatio* as the gift of divine mercy is essential for *perfectio* but does not constitute its substance; this consists rather in the practice of the theological virtues, which indeed are made possible and prosecuted precisely by *contemplatio*. (2) There is only one kind of *contemplatio*, namely *contemplatio infusa*, as *donum spiritus sancti*, but this appears in two forms, active and passive. (3) The *oratio* which is characteristic of the state of *perfectio* is *contemplatio*, but *meditatio* may be added thereto. — *Schmaus* presents in convenient form the material provided for his subject by Augustine's treatise *De trinitate*, but in spite of much acuteness pays insufficient attention to the connection of this main work with Augustine's other writings. — While *Schmaus* considers primarily the psychological analogies through which Augustine tries to comprehend the inner nature of God, *Lebreton* is concerned with his explanation of the Old Testament theophanies, which serve the same end. — '*Gallerand*' (one of the many pseudonyms of the modernist Joseph Turmel) has tried to understand Augustine's doctrine of redemption solely from the point of view of the pact between God and the devil. *Rivière* replies to him and develops Augustine's doctrine of redemption in a broader way. His book is enlarged from his article in RSRUS VII, 1927, 429-451, 600-640 and VIII, 1928, 24-49. His essay in Misc. Agost. may be mentioned here. — After a survey of the various interpretations put in the course of centuries upon Augustine's doctrine of original sin, *Blic*



criticizes them and reaches the conclusion that only the last one, by which *peccatum originale* is made the same as *concupiscentia*, has adequate support in Augustine's texts, while the other two, namely the participation of mankind in Adam's personal sin and the loss of saving grace, which appeared in Catholicism only after the Reformation and in opposition to it, find little support in the texts. — *Philips's* attitude toward his theme is not that of the historian, but of the systematic theologian. He does not follow up the changes which Augustine's solution of the problem of evil underwent in the course of his theological development in the debate with Manichaeism and Pelagianism, but tries to show the inner connection between these different solutions, and finds the leading idea of Augustine in the love of God. — On the basis of what seems to me an untenable exegesis of the passage on the *Opus imperfectum* 4, 122 (MSL 44, 1418), *Müller* makes Augustine the champion (*propugnator*) of the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary.

ETHICS. *Mausbach's* standard work is reprinted unchanged in a second edition; in a supplement (1930) he defends himself against his critics. — From the *Sermo domini in monte* (MSL 34, 1229-1308) and other writings, *Bassi* sets forth Augustine's view of the Beatitudes as the program for the religious and moral life of a Christian. — *Moricca* describes vividly Augustine's defence against opponents and misinterpreters of his monastic ideal.

SACRAMENTS. *Adam* and *Poschmann*, two highly esteemed scholars, have carried on a fruitful debate on Augustine's position in the history of the disciplines of penance. *Adam* (see 1921, p. 330) thinks Augustine's work epoch-making because, by introducing private church penance without excommunication, Augustine anticipated a development which, as all know, was not completed until centuries later. *Poschmann* admits that in Augustine there are evidently approaches to the so-called private penance, but nevertheless thinks that he held firmly to public satisfaction. The dispute has provoked much discussion, and it would appear that *Poschmann* has come off victor. *Koch* goes still further, saying, "Augustine is neither

the defender nor the promoter of ecclesiastical penance; he made no change whatever in ecclesiastical penitential practice." *Lecordier's* dissertation is directed against Turmel (pseudonym, R. Lawson, RHR n.s. 6, 1920, 99-152, 472-525), whose presentation of the subject he successfully disproves. — *Pereira* sums up Augustine's views on marriage under the terms, *proles, fides, sacramentum*. *Voosen* criticizes his diffuseness and many obscurities.

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. In my former article (1921, p. 327), I expressed some doubts about Troeltsch's position in his one-sided emphasis on the apologetic purpose of *De civitate dei* as the last great attempt to justify the Church against the old charge that it was responsible for the dissolution of Roman society. Troeltsch held that the idea of laying down rules for the future was far from Augustine's mind, if for no other reason, because, under the weight of an aged world already in process of dissolution, every wish to give form to the future must have been alien to his thought. Substantial objection to this view has been raised from many quarters, the most forcible being that of *Beyerhaus*, who denies this one-sided emphasis of a fundamental eschatological mood, claiming that it is wrong to try to erect the structure of Augustine's ethics of civilization on the *De civitate dei* alone, as Troeltsch did. He insists that account must also be taken of Donatist writings, as well as of such letters as bear on the theme of Church and State, and the sermons. The events of the time compelled Augustine to change his idea of the State; we must include a consideration of many elements if we are to understand him on all sides. — *Salin's* book is a characteristic example of the *geisteswissenschaftliche* method, now the fashion in Germany, of regarding epochs of history. The author, not a theologian by profession, but a political economist, aims to depict the ideal of the State which the early Christian centuries were slowly fashioning, and to which Augustine in his *City of God* gave definite form. He starts with the ancient idea of the State, then draws an elaborate picture of primitive Christianity, and finally shows how in it all the conditions are fulfilled for seeing and representing the *City of God* as the eternal kingdom on earth in Christian spirit

and Christian-Roman form, that is, in the form of the Church. Thus the Church is to be regarded not, as Troeltsch proposed to do, as a creation of the spirit of antiquity, but as receiving form from the Christian spirit reaching out beyond antiquity. "Wenn man's so hört, möcht's leidlich scheinen," as Gretchen said of Faust's profession of religion, but even friendly critics cannot avoid the impression that this ingenious structure rests on no solid foundation, because the author lacks definite knowledge of facts, and that to an often shocking degree, so that his ambitious construction does violence to historical reality. It falls into the same class with the famous books of Chamberlain and Spengler. Like them Salin's outline of the philosophy of history gives abundant incitement to criticism, but it also irritates the reader by wilful statements, not sufficiently founded and often of an almost amateurish cast. — In distinguishing the City of God from Church and State, Salin has hit the right word when he says that Church and Civitas dei are capable of coinciding but are not identical. This is also Müller's opinion, and like everything he publishes, it combines wise judgment with thorough knowledge. The matter in question relates chiefly to the famous passage in *De civitate dei* xx, 9, which has commonly been claimed for identifying the two. Müller does not agree to this; he would regard the *regnare* of the bishops here required as devoid of all hierarchical or even theocratic significance. — *Hermelink* takes the view that Augustine made the *civitas terrena* a collective idea, so that the whole of mankind in its civil organization is comprehended all together under the common aspect of the Church. It is precisely the vagueness of this concept, together with its realistic applicability, that made it so useful in the Middle Ages. According to the turn of the situation in ecclesiastical policy, what is condemned as earthly is now the hostile State and again not the state as such, but only the earthly disposition on which it rests. From this concept also it becomes clear how Augustine's ethics constitutes at once the conclusion of Christian antiquity and the constructive foundation for mediaeval Catholicism. — *Gerosa* constructs Augustine's philosophy by the antithesis, *imperium romanum* and Roman imperialism.

The former is foreseen in God's purpose (*disposizione providenziale*), the latter is the effluence, hostile to God, of the usurped domination of man over man. To this essay is prefixed an exhaustive critical survey of the literature. — *Combès* divides his subject under systematic headings: Authority, Law, Justice, Country, Criticism, Relation of Church and State. The literature in German is completely ignored, for which neglect *Labriolle* rightly censures the author. — A comparison of the essays of *Schilling* and *Tillich* will yield results differing according to the reader's point of view. Both develop Augustine's doctrine of the State, the former with strict objectivity, the latter with strongly subjective reasoning. The difference of method between the historian and the systematic theologian is plain.

INFLUENCE ON MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN THOUGHT. *Grabmann* portrays the influence of Augustine on the doctrine of scholasticism (especially high scholasticism) concerning the relation of faith and knowledge. The great part played by Augustine's ideas in the mediaeval discussion of this problem gives evidence of the extent to which he was known and recognized as instructor and guide. — This is made even clearer in any such special study as that of *Cavallera*, with regard to the relation of Peter the Lombard to Augustine. The abundance of quotations and *sententiae* from Augustine's writings is amazing, more than the number from all other church fathers together (Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, Isidore). The Lombard's manual made up of Augustinian thoughts was the most powerful influence, in the thirteenth century, in causing Augustine's authority to act like a dam against the high tide of Aristotelianism. — *Stegmüller* sets forth how, among the Carmelite theologians at the University of Salamanca, Augustine's doctrine of the *gratia sanans* was defined by the adjustment with the interpretation of Augustine which was set up by Gregory of Rimini (1358) and accepted as part of Thomism by John Capreolus (1444). — *Heussi* raises the question of what line leads from the mode of thought of the Civitas dei to the modern question as to the meaning of history, and his answer is that the meaning of history is revealed to man on the very road which leads across



this great work. — The other works mentioned in the bibliography relate so extensively to the questions discussed in present-day philosophy that I cannot consider them in this review.

In looking back over the many pages of this survey, I am astonished and a little troubled to see how much paper and ink, and how much labor have been expended, and in some cases perhaps wasted, on subjects that appear of little value even to a friendly eye. Nor is the quality commensurate with the quantity. Nevertheless, this international competition of intellectual athletes may well have revealed forces which will cut new paths through the thickets, and so lead to brighter spaces in this terrain of scholarship. In the course of the past three centuries and more the field has proved to be worthy of the skill of thousands of trained and trusty laborers. *Minima non curat praetor*, but in science the smallest addition to the stock of knowledge is welcome; *non enim vincimur, quando nobis offeruntur meliora, sed instruimur* (Cypr. ep. 71, 3).



## NOTES

### ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN AND PAULINE RHYTHM

SOME years ago (Journ. Theol. Stud., XXV, 1923, pp. 17-43), I put forward the view that St. Paul, like the admirable master of eloquence he was, and despite his own disclaimer of σοφία λόγου, wrote with a very distinct and characteristic rhythm, capable of expression in the terminology of Zielinski and involving a strong although unconscious<sup>1</sup> preference for the Zielinskian classes V, L, S and the sub-class P1. In consequence, I denied that in Phil. 4, 7 he can have spoiled the effect of one of the finest passages he or anyone else ever wrote by the jingle ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν, which is fully as much in keeping with the tone of the rest as it would have been if Lincoln had started the Gettysburg address with "Eighty years ago to-day (ta-ra-ra-ra-boom-de-ay)." It scans, supposing crasis of the article, - - - - - , a lilting verse, not unlike that of the first stasimon in the *Phoenissae*, θούριος μολῶν Ἄρης | αἶμα δάιον φλέγει, 240-1, which is well fitted for a band of girls to dance in to, but ill suits a grave theologian delivering a solemn benediction. I then suggested that he really wrote either ὑπερέχουσα παντός νοός or else πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσα. But I did not then know that one of my supposed emendations was really a well-supported reading.

— St. Gregory Nazianzen, being himself an eloquent man, would not be deaf to the style of St. Paul, however much his theology might claim his attention; and it will hardly be denied that a patristic quotation is most worthy of attention when it goes against the ordinary text of the New Testament. I therefore point out that he twice cites this very passage, and both times with a much improved rhythm. The sixth oration ends: καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔσται μεθ' ἡμῶν (there is the inevitable variant ὑμῶν, and little to choose between them) τῆς πάντα νοῦν ὑπερεχούσης ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν (the variant again)· ἀμήν. Then, in orat. xiv, 20 (p. 271 A edit. Bened.), he has

<sup>1</sup> I emphasise this point, as at least two critics of my views seem to imagine that I supposed St. Paul to have deliberately and consciously preferred certain rhythms to others, an idea which I disprove, *op. cit.*, p. 35. To borrow Horace's language (*A.P.*, 274), he, and for that matter Cicero, *sonum aure callebat* but not *digitis*; he wrote what sounded satisfactory and did not fit his words to a pre-arranged mechanical pattern.

the words, ἀλλ' εἶπερ τι ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο καλῶς τῷ τεχνίτῃ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερεχούσῃ σοφίᾳ μεμηχανῆσθαι.

It would seem, then, that he read

ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ θεοῦ  
ἡ πάντα νοῦν ὑπερέχουσα,

V 2 followed by L 1<sup>2</sup> (*esse uideatur*), to the great improvement of the style. If I were editing Phil. I should certainly print this without the smallest hesitation; the ear of an eloquent Father, backed up by modern analysis, is in such cases *centum codicibus potior*.

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### LEGITIMUS HONOR. A NOTE ON HELLENISTIC RULER-WORSHIP

ONE of the major difficulties which besets the study of hellenistic ruler-worship is the paucity of significant indications in Greek or Latin literature which define how this institution was regarded by those peoples among whom it existed and by whom it was practised. The following passage of Livy (XXXII, 25, 2-4), who of course reproduces Polybius here, is therefore of some importance. It describes the events in Argos during the second Macedonian war which led up to the capture of the city by Philocles, the general of Philip V.

mos erat comitiorum die primo velut ominis causa praetores pronuntiare Iovem Apollinemque et Herculem; *additum lege erat, ut his Philippus rex adiceretur*. cuius nomen post pactam cum Romanis societatem quia praeco non adiecit, fremitus primo multitudinis ortus, deinde clamor subicientium Philippi nomen iubentiumque *legitimum honorem* usurpare, donec cum ingenti adsensu nomen recitatum est.

It is important to note that it was enacted by a law passed by the people of Argos that Philip's name should be associated with those of Zeus, Apollo and Heracles, the patron deities of the city. This association of Philip's name with those of the gods is defined as a *legitimus honor*, an honour granted or established by law, probably reproducing some such Greek expression as *νενομισμένη τιμή*. Particularly interesting is the reaction of the populace to the herald's omission of Philip's name from the invocation. Philip was very popular in Argos (cf. Livy, XXXII, 22, 11), and the demonstration of the people in his



favor is clearly and unmistakably political in nature with no element of the religious. Philip was granted the *honor* of having his name associated with those of the patron deities of Argos because the Argives wished to confer upon him a distinction, to give him evidence of their respect, admiration, appreciation and loyalty. But there is no suggestion whatsoever that the Argives believed Philip himself to be personally a god.

This passage is also important for another reason. It shows definitely that there were Greeks whose opinion of Philip's personality and character was very different indeed from that of Polybius.

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J. R. J.